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BERGER - PHASE IV

TESTIMONY

C. O. P. E.

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OUTLINE OF EVIDENCE PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF COPE
ALASKA PANEL

Berger Inquiry - July, 1976

1. Bob Worl, Director, Health Planning Board,
Barrow, Alaska.
2. Eben Hopson, Mayor, North Slope Borough,
Barrow, Alaska.
3. Grace Lincoln, Director, Alaska Native
Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse,
Anchorage, Alaska.

4. ROSITA WORL, OUTER CONTINENTAL
SHELF SOCIAL IMPACT STUDY

(Subject to Revision)

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE

ALASKA

ALASKA - 1867

1. The first settlement in Alaska was made by the Russians in 1784.

2. The first American settlement in Alaska was made by the Americans in 1804.

3. The first Russian settlement in Alaska was made by the Russians in 1784.

4. The first American settlement in Alaska was made by the Americans in 1804.

(Subject to be continued)

BOB WORL

1. Impacts on health and mental health in the North Slope Borough of the Alyeska Pipeline construction and accompanying rapid economic developments:
 - a) North Slope Borough Hospital admissions, 1972-1975.
 - b) Influx of southerners and impacts upon health services and communities.
 - c) Impacts on health problems existent before the pipeline: v.d., upper respiratory infections, hepatitis, impetigo and scabies, anemia, child abuse, dental health.
2. Impacts upon smaller villages: Pt. Lay, Pt. Hope, Anaktuvik Pass, etc.

"The most significant factor in this health pattern is the rapidly changing lifestyle".

EBEN HOPSON

1. The overriding importance of the prior settlement of land claims to pipeline construction: the experience of the North Slope Borough.
2. The importance of local control:
 - a) The establishment of the North Slope as a first-class borough and the powers it gave the Inuit residents to control and benefit from oil development.
 - b) The opposition of the oil companies.
3. The importance of the Beaufort Sea - outer continental shelf to the Inuit of the North Slope and their concern with offshore drilling.

SECRET

1. The importance of the role of the
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GRACE LINCOLN

1. Alcohol and Drug Abuse in native communities both Indian and Inuit throughout Alaska.
 - a) Villages near the pipeline.
 - b) Villages distant from the pipeline: Kotzebue.
 - c) The factor of the sudden influx of large salaries.

2. Accompanying social dislocation:
 - a) Family disintegration.
 - b) Juvenile Delinquency.
 - c) Community Breakdown.

SUBMISSION OF

A.P. Abbott, M.B. Ch.B.M., F.R.C.P. (C)
Psychiatrist

TO THE BERGER INQUIRY

Presented on Behalf of COPE
September, 1976.
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

A Presentation to the Berger Commission

by

A.P. Abbott, M.B., Ch.B.M., F.R.C.P. (c)
Psychiatrist

When I was requested to prepare a submission for the Commission, I experienced a variety of emotional responses. I felt pleased and honored to be given this opportunity of presenting some of my thoughts and observations on the North and the impact which development has had on it. But at the same time I was deeply troubled with certain misgivings. The number of "southern experts" who have sprung up like mushrooms, has now reached astronomical proportions. The pontifications by the southern experts is a constant source of dismay to me and I am fully aware that by presenting my views before this Commission, I am in grave danger of casting myself in the role of one such "expert". However, I will try to resist this temptation as far as humanly possible.

My qualifications for addressing this Commission are modest. Basically I have been involved in the Canadian North as a psychiatrist for almost 7 years. From 1969 to 1972, I worked as psychiatric consultant in the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories and it is probably true to say that at least half of my working life has been spent north of the 60th parallel. My qualifications and experience therefore, give me no special status as far as deciding the future of the North, but I feel that I will at least be able to observe what is happening in the North and it is this area upon which I will concentrate in this presentation.

After much thought, and consideration, together with a study of the literature, I have come to the conclusion that it is a pointless task in attempting to define Mental Health. I have yet to see anywhere a satisfactory definition as Mental Health cannot be defined in only clinical terms, but must take into account

economic, philosophical, religious, and political realities. Any definition of Mental Health therefore is bound to be culturally determined. However, although there may be great differences of opinion in arriving at a definition of Mental Health there are certain characteristics by which Mental Ill-Health can be defined, and these would be generally acceptable. It is perhaps easier therefore to focus on what is not mental health and there is ample evidence of what it is not if we but look around us and see what is happening in Northern Canada. In the face of alcohol abuse which has reached epidemic proportions with all the associated ills, family disintegration, violent deaths, injuries, criminal activity, only an ostrich with its head buried firmly in the sand, would deny that development in the North has led to anything but a deterioration in the mental health of the native people.

Examples of Past Development

I would first like to emphasize that change is inevitable. No society can remain static, when surrounded on all sides by a changing society, without decay. I am not one of those starry-eyed people who would have the native people of the North continue their old trapping and hunting economy in perpetuity. Although the old way of life has served the native people well for centuries, its time is running out. In the same way that European culture has gradually evolved from a hunting and trapping economy, first to agricultural economy and now to an industrial economy so the culture and the way of life of the native people of the North must also change from the basically hunting and trapping economy to an economy in gear with the technology of the twentieth century. Those who would have the native economy based on hunting and trapping with no long view of technological development are in point of fact condemning the native people to the world of museum exhibits. Many people may be rather horrified to contemplate such changes and will interpret my statements as being a tax on the old native/^{way}of life. Such changes do not mean a complete rejection of traditional ways. Changes can be linked to the past, as anyone who has travelled extensively in

Europe can see where there are living examples everywhere of the links of the industrialized European cultures with their agricultural heritage. The englishman's almost fanatical devotion to his garden, however small his may be, is perhaps one of the best examples, of the reluctance of the industrialized people to break with all of their tradition. In the same way technological development in the North must develop in such a way that the native people can retain their links with the land and with their old way of life. Although hunting, trapping, and fishing may no longer in the future provide the basic economy, these skills are important skills to retain, to preserve a sense of identity.

Role of the Native in Past Developments

Perhaps the Yukon Territory is a very good example of what can happen with rapid unplanned development. We are perhaps all aware of the famous Klondike Gold Rush. I would recommend as interesting reading the book "Black Sands and Gold" which is the diary of one of the sourdoughs. Although interesting from the point of view of the life of the sourdough perhaps one of the most startling features of the book is the lack of mention of the Indian people through whose country the hordes of prospectors travelled. It was as if the native people in the Yukon did not exist. However, although these hordes of sourdoughs had a temporary effect on the native culture, the majority of the sourdoughs left the Yukon Territory. For the native people of the Yukon Territory it was not the prospector who changed their culture as much as the later missionaries, not only from the churches but also in the areas of health, education, etc. But the greatest impact was yet to come. Of even greater significance to the native people of the Yukon Territory was the building of the Alaska highway and the network of roads that has fanned out from this highway since its development. The Alaska highway was rushed to completion in a very short time, under great political pressure as Canada and the U.S.A. were involved in World War II and the construction of the highway was considered

essential for national security of both countries. As an engineering feat, the highway must rank as one of the miracles of the present century. But what has been the outcome of this highway for the Indian people of the Yukon Territory? Towns have sprung up along the highway and most have grown steadily in size. But if we look more carefully at these towns we see that they are not communities but dual communities. The major centers are basically seven Canadian white communities with a nearby native community. When I lived in Whitehorse, the native village was considered a world apart from the rest of Whitehorse. Such development is not limited to the Yukon Territory, and even more tragic examples can be seen in the Northwest Territories. Perhaps the most tragic of all is the situation in Inuvik. Inuvik was a brand new town and a planned community. It was planned in such a way that all facilities were supplied to the Government. That of course meant white end of town. The native part of town compared most unfavorably. I could go on with examples of the comparison of living standards between the native people and the white southern influx, but it basically makes no difference to me which of the major communities you are looking at, whether it is Whitehorse, Yellowknife, or Inuvik or many others. The picture is always the same. I do not wish to descry the efforts of certain Government departments to improve housing standards for the native people, but the point I am trying to make is that in most communities in the North that have "developed", there is an odious comparison between the native and the white areas of town. There are your poor and your wealthy. The poor are always native people. All countries have relatively poor and relatively wealthy people and it is almost impossible to contemplate a truly classless society. But in Northern development in Canada the two groups are split not only on economic grounds but also on ethnic grounds as well. To compare

Riverdale or Porter Creek, which are the white suburbs of Whitehorse to the Indian Village, is like comparing a new Rolls Royce with a dilapidated, worn-out, Volkswagon. I have heard the argument that the native people prefer to live separately from the white people. When a comparison is made between the amenities of the Southern white suburbia and the native community, I am reminded of similar arguments put forward by the Government of South Africa in support of its apartheid program. The end result of this dual community development has in fact been a form of apartheid. Communication between the native community and the white community is pitifully absent. A large number of white southern Canadians who have moved to the two major centers of the North namely Whitehorse and Yellowknife, have never even spoken to a native person, although they may have lived in the North for a couple of years. Such a condition must reinforce the stereo-typed ideas of "the others" and has certainly led to much friction between the two groups usually characterised at the school level where the children betray the attitudes of their parents. How can the white Canadian in the North really understand the problems of the native community when there is no communication. Conversely, how can the native people in the North realize the aspirations and some of the problems of the white person moving North when there is also no communication. A major feature of the development of northern communities has been the lack of control by the indigenous people. The towns have developed in such a way to give the impression that native people have been brushed aside in development. I will return to this topic of lack of control later in my presentation.

Psychological Implications

Rather than dwell on the purely physical aspects of the native lot, I would like to focus on what is perhaps much more important, namely the psychological

effects of the above development. In the development of the North, a ruling class has emerged. This ruling class is composed of Government officials, civil servants, business owners, and managers. They are the people with the jobs. They are the people with the relatively good housing. They are the people with the power. The other class are the poor, who happen to be native people. As previously mentioned, they are the group with relatively poor housing. They are the group with no job, or a job that is low on the totem pole. They are the people with no power at all. Native people therefore, have been placed in the position of inferiority and dependency on the newcomers from the South. Perhaps the most serious side effect of massive development today, has been a development of a psychological set of inferiority on the part of the native people. Many of the young people are ashamed of their backgrounds. This was most vividly brought home to me when I was in Whitehorse and held regular group meetings with some of the Indian children at the school. The expression "going down to the Indian Village" was brought up. When I pointed out to the group that this was not an accurate expression because the Indian village happened to be at a higher elevation than the school, one boy said "but we are down. We are always down compared to the white man". All decision making processes have been assumed by private industry or government departments. The family is no longer a viable entity because it has no structure and the native male has perhaps lost more than any other group of people in this country. His role as hunter and provider of his family, has gone. He has no job. He is no longer the bread winner for his family. He has no longer any control over his future, and has lost respect of his wife and his children. Perhaps, more importantly he has lost his own self-respect. The government will take care of his children if they are sick, and government will educate his children. No where is he considered responsible for his family. We have therefore, very successfully, completely emasculated him. But then we go on to complain that he is not a respon-

sible citizen, and not looking after his family properly.

Government Departments and the Developing North

When confronted with the probability of massive development in the Canadian North, accompanied by inevitable major social upheavals, I have heard many well meaning groups advocate the planning of bigger and better government services. On the face of it, this appears to be a reasonable and humane approach. However, before we get carried away with our missionary zeal towards the native people, let us for a moment look at the present situation. Social disintergration is already with us. In all the major centres of the North there is evidence on all sides, eg. children taken into care, wide spread alchohol related problems, and the general psychiatric casualties of social breakdown. To deal with these problems in the North, we have already several Federal and Territorial Government agencies providing services to the native people. In fact, the development of the North has been highlighted by a steadily increasing Government bureaucracy. It has been my impression over the years, that many of the employees of these Government departments have given Trojan service to the North, and I have seen ample evidence of the high regard in which Individual doctors nurses, social workers and teachers, etc. have been held by the local native people. My remarks, therefore, should not be construed as attacks on all individuals providing these services. However, I must take issue with the system that has evolved in the NWT. This system, whether it be in areas of health, education, or social development or many other government departments are basically southern white Canadian models transposed to the Canadian Arctic. As one moves further from the field level of operation and closer to the final decision making authority (whether this rests in Yellowknife or Ottawa, makes absolutely no difference) any input from the native people gradually peeters out. From the Field level to the decision making authority level, the system more and more approximates the bureaucracy of Southern Canada.

Here and there, in the Government system the odd token native appears giving "native input". But the system is such that there are safeguards built in that the native input in no way influences decisions. We are left therefore, with the situation of all decisions affecting the native people being decided by a group of white professionals from the south, who control all policy making decisions and budgets. This is complicated, by the existence of many people whose personal power is out of all proportion to their inherent abilities and qualifications. When I first went to live in Whitehorse, I was quickly thrust in the role of being the oracle of all psychiatric wisdom in the North, simply because I was the first psychiatrist to live North of the 60th parallel. It is very difficult not to succumb to the temptations of such great power.

Many times in the North, I have thought of the expression, "In the valley of the blind the one-eyed-man is king". Such a system, with all its inherent problems and dangers, only intensifies the demarcation of native and non-native in the Northwest Territories. The non-native is the giver. The native the receiver. The non-native is the controller. The native person is the controlled. The non-native is the adult, the native person is the child. However, I have detected marked unhappiness with this system on both sides. The native people are no longer content to be left out of the decision making process and are becoming more increasingly militant and vocal as has been amply demonstrated at this commission of inquiry. Many of the non-native people working in the North have become increasingly frustrated with the lack of results in their programs. For them, unfortunately, the options of being vocal, too often do not exist and the North has lost many good workers because they can no longer stand the system.

Given the above therefore, I have many reservations on recommending that in the area of psychiatric services, Government builds up a bigger and bigger service. We have to recognize the limitations of southern white north american psychiatry in helping

native people. In the same way that psychiatry throughout the world differs in its approach in different cultures psychiatry in the North must also take into account the culture and social conditions of the people. The vast majority of problems that I have seen as a clinical psychiatrist, cannot in all honesty, be classified as psychiatric problems. Some problems such as the major psychoses, occur in all people and the treatment is largely medical in the sense of medication; so at least in its initial stages southern psychiatry is appropriate. However, many of the problems seen are so closely interwoven with the life style of the native people in the North, which in turn is closely bound to such problems as: economics, housing, self-esteem, and cultural identity, that to label them as psychiatric disorders is frankly fraudulent and of no value whatsoever as the treatment must eventually be the treatment of the whole community rather than the individual.

Recommendations for Future Development in the North

Although at the beginning of this address, I stated that I would try to resist the temptation to make recommendations on the future of the people of the North there are certain highlights that should really be very obvious to everybody who has travelled and seen the North. Development of the Canadian North is inevitable and probably, in the long run, will be beneficial to the native people. But only if certain provisions are made and changes are made in the present system. These points perhaps can be numbered best as follows:

1. Development must proceed in a planned and organised fashion and not one of panic development. By planned and organised development, I do not mean that it is planned in some remote office in Southern Canada and imposed on the people of the North. Planning presupposes full consultation of the native people with assumption of decision making authority by the native people.
2. It is difficult to see how the topic of native land claims can be dealt with in isolation from planned development. The two topics must obviously be dealt with simultaneously.
3. Tied in with land claim settlement and development of the North the goal must be to develop positions of authority filled by native people. This applies to both economic development and to government agencies. It must be therefore recognised that in predominately native areas the ultimate goal will be full authority to be wielded by the local native people. Although it must be recognised that for a considerable time to come, certain expertise will continue to come from white Southern Canadians, moving to the North. The ultimate goal must be full authority in areas of social welfare, health, education, community development, etc. to

be wielded by the native people. This would include both policy making and budgetary decisions.

4. As a corollary to the above, the native people must also recognise that once they have assumed full authority of a policy and budgets, they will in turn also assume full responsibility.
5. Increasing efforts must be directed towards training Northern people to assume the roles of the developer, an effort to circumvent the possibility of a massive influx of Southern Canadians. Methods should perhaps be explored of alternate means of employment and payment. Southern economic wealth is not in all probability conducive to Mental Health. An excellent example of this was shown in Ross River, the Yukon, where many of the men of the community were sent on a prospectors course and were paid for attending this course. Although the intention was admirable, the sudden acquisition of money led only to an increase in trade in the local bar and to several deaths the first winter - people being drunk and freezing in the snow. If therefore, a large part of the native population are going to change to a wage economy it is essential that some training be given in handling budgets to help ensure that the families of the employed person are the ones that really benefit.
6. Although I realize that the human condition tends to be very short sighted, I would make a very strong plea to look at long term development in the North. I direct this plea not only to governments who are notoriously unable to think beyond the next election, but also towards the native people. What will the economy of the North be 50 years from now? How can secondary industry be encouraged in

the North? Let us not forget that Dawson City in the Yukon Territory was once the largest city in North America, west of Chicago, but its economy was based on a boom and of course the bust followed later. How and can secondary industry be encouraged in the North? Perhaps greater efforts should be placed in investigating an economy based on non-depleting resources such as lumbering and the tourist industry. Already the North has a developing tourist industry, but unfortunately, again it is highlighted by white Southern Canadians and Americans coming in and developing this industry. The benefits to the native people have been generally minimal. Can a local horticulture and agriculture developments be achieved? Are such developments reasonable viable? And what can be done to train native people to develop such a diversified economy?

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The Evidence of Dr. J. D. Atcheson

presented on behalf of COPE

The Berger Inquiry

Socio-Economic

Phase

Yellowknife,

September, 1976

PRESENTATION TO THE BERGER COMMISSION.

J.D. Atcheson, M.D., F.R.C.P.(C).

Psychiatric Consultant.

Baffin Zone, Northwest Territories.

In accepting a request to address the Commission I must first clearly identify the nature of my experience in the Arctic communities. I present my point of view with some degree of apology as no one appreciates more than myself, the multitude of self-assigned experts that exist concerning the Canadian Arctic.

The arrogance of the experts or specialists who, without a capacity to communicate with the native people and lacking in appreciation of their history, visit this uniquely important constituency of Canada on a few occasions and immediately expound the best methods of dealing with the welfare of its citizens and preserving their culture, has contributed to vast misunderstandings of the problems. Frequently the repressed and sometimes overthostility of the native Canadian people to this pseudo-expertise is blandly unrecognized by the experts.

I am able to address this issue only from a relatively narrow experience. In 1965 I was requested along with colleagues in the disciplines of psychology and social work, to assess the mental health problems that were presenting in the Eastern Arctic. After this initial experience I have annually, and since 1971 three times a year, served as a psychiatric consultation in a small part of the eastern Arctic in the Baffin zone, namely the settlements of Pangnirtung, Cape Dorset and the town of Frobisher Bay. I have had occasion to visit in some other communities in the zone, but basically my awareness is related to these three areas.

The responsibility for arranging these consultations is shared by Dr. Samuel Malcolmson, Dr. Eric Hood and myself, all of whom are members of the staff of the University of Toronto, Department of Psychiatry, and we have been able to achieve a continuity of service that we feel has greatly enriched our awareness of the mental health problems of the eastern Arctic. This continuity has made it possible for us to have many contacts with administrative personnel, educational personnel, health personnel, and, more importantly, significant native Canadian people.

In my earlier consulting role this contact with my Eskimo fellow citizens was through interpreters. We are extremely sensitive to the difficulties of fully appreciating a culture when one has no skill in the language, which is the major constituent of any culture, and we have been very sensitive to our inadequacies and have been very cautious in making broad generalizations concerning the mental health of the people. In recent years our contacts have been increasingly with Eskimo people, especially young people,, who speak excellent English and who are patient enough to communicate and discuss their problems with us.

Over this ten year period I have had the opportunity of seeing the effect of perhaps the most rapid cultural change that has ever been experienced by a group of Canadian people. Although a slow erosion of the Eskimo culture has been taking place over the last century, the speed of change and the sudden thrust of the southern community dating from the end of the World War II, but more precisely and intensely over the last ten years, could not be reduplicated in any place in the world.

Although it is true that there are many ethnic groups in our vast country who have faced the horrendous problems of cultural clash and assimilation

into the southern culture they, as a rule, have done this on their own election and under conditions that in no way resemble the problems that the native Canadian people have faced, as the values of the southern culture have been imposed upon them. The motivation of the cultural invasion has rarely been based on a sympathetic understanding and respect of the native culture. We have imposed on the native Canadian people, a political and public health system, a religion and a concept of laws not entirely based on the reality of their circumstance. This has been enforced by a political philosophy which identifies with the sanctity of private ownership, whereas the native cultures conceive the world as their land and to be shared but never to be owned.

To deny that this rapid speed of change has had no negative effects on the native Canadian people, would be to deny the reality of increased violent death, dependency on alcohol, aggressive, hostile, and-social behaviour, anxiety, depression and behaviour disorders in childhood.

It is difficult to offer a universal definition of what is meant by mental health. We do, however, appreciate that it somehow is related to that capacity in the human being to adjust comfortably to the stresses of a particular environment. Mental health may be defined as the capacity of an individual to adapt to his environment so that he may satisfy his basic needs and be productive and creative, thus fulfilling his individual potential in such a way that he feels relatively independent, happy and secure within the boundaries of his physical capacity and the limits of the social structure in which he exists and with which he is in dynamic harmony. The historical description of the Eskimo culture would indicate that the people had arrived at a unique homeostatic condition with a most hostile environment.

It is readily observed that when a culture begins to lose its identity and a diffusion of roles of parents and children takes place, that the appearance of an increasing instance of pathological depression is the inevitable consequence. There can be no doubt that as a result of the cultural erosion in our Arctic that an increased incidence of serious depressive reactions has occurred. If we then provide a system that we have become accustomed to using in the south to deal with our stress, namely the intake of alcohol, we have all the components that are necessary for a marked distortion of mental health.

We have observed an increased incidence of violent behaviour which is often the result of this depression released by alcohol and resulting in anger. The battered child syndrome, for example, is now observed in a culture whose former child rearing practices were based on the concept that the child was always wanted, either by the biological parents or by the extended family, and where early childhood learning took place through patient example by the parents demonstrating the responsibility of their roles.

The pattern of suicide, for example, has changed from the noble, voluntary withdrawal by the sick or the aged, with the welfare of others as the motivating force, to suicide of despair and a sense of uselessness in roles so diffuse that life has no rewards that can be perceived by the depressed mind.

One of the most sensitive indices of abnormal social tensions in any culture is the appearance of increasing delinquency in children in adolescence and, indeed, anti-social deviant behaviour. The increase in anti-social deviant behaviour as described in the well documented monograph by Finkler, Szabo,

and Parizeau, "Deviancy and Social Control Manifestations, Tension, and Conflict in Frobisher Bay" should be carefully reviewed by all members of this Commission.

The observations that I have made in relationship to the eastern Arctic are primarily related to communities where, in fact, there is no strong economic base for their existence. When one carefully examines the economic position of the town of Frobisher Bay, it would be necessary to assume that there is no basic industry that contributes to an income to this community. Indeed, there are some excellent artists who carve and there are those who are employed in terms of transportation and maintenance of utilities but, in fact, there is no product and everyone who is engaged in Frobisher Bay is basically there looking after someone else.

I can only comment that under these conditions one observes a lack of well defined roles for the majority of the native Canadian people. This modification of role from the earlier days of the camp and hunting culture was clearly described by Dr. Otto Schaeffer in a most important address that he gave to the Third International Symposium on Circumpolar Health in 1974. It is through a century of exploitation of the native Canadian people that we have succeeded in disrupting their culture and values and, most regrettably, lowering their self pride. This present generation has been placed in a position more difficult than those of their father's and, most probably, more difficult than their son's. The deviant social behaviour resulting from this clash of cultures and the ambivalent oscillations between new and old values themselves produce a type of "survival of the fittest" crucible, in which some casualties are precipitated. These will occupy psychiatric consultations for a generation or more.

One might make an inference from these statements that if, in fact, there were only a wage earning economy and an appropriate gross national product for the eastern Arctic, then, in fact this diffusion of role for the native person would be corrected. This statement implies that the native Canadian person would be offered the opportunity of adequate and appropriate training to fulfil a new role in a new wage earning economy, and it also presumes that it would be his wish to accept this role.

From the evidence that I can obtain of the impact, for example, of the pipeline on the Alaskan native people, there is little evidence to sustain this point of view.

If it is known and agreed that sufficient energy exists in the north to merit its transportation to the markets of the south, it is difficult to believe this can be prevented. It is, however, reasonable to assume that the planning for such enterprise could take place with the thoughtfulness and with the controlled timing that would permit for the appropriate planning, not only ecologically and technically, but for the rights and welfare and advancement of all Canadians.

I am of the opinion that the point of no return has been passed in terms of stating that if the southern culture would withdraw, the native Canadian people would re-establish their former cultural state. In the present global village this is obviously impossible and perhaps not desirable. This very fact increases the responsibility of our Government to approach this problem with every possible plan to safeguard the welfare of Canadian people in the process of transition.

We must use every possible effort to discover techniques to carry out this process. If we agree that the philosophy involved is to effect change in a way that will better the majority of Canadian people and destroy none, then we must establish a policy which will permit the effective development of such a philosophy.

I understand that this Commission has addressed itself to many issues of policy, such as the safety of this pipeline for the ecology of the country, and to the tremendous cost that is involved, to the question as to whether we really have sufficient technical knowledge to cope with these issues. Every now and then I hear the question raised as to the rights of those who would be most affected by this change, namely, those Canadian people who use this land in their cultural way at the present time. There will continue to be for some time, Native Canadian citizens who wish to continue a hunting and trapping economy. It is indeed their land and if we really mean that we are all equal citizens in Canada, then it means that we deal fairly with the issues of ownership. In my opinion, without an appropriate and completely honest appraisal of native people's land claims, then anything that follows in attempting to identify techniques that will allow this transition from the hunting settlement economy to that of the wage earning economy of the south, will be doomed to immense failure.

Since the break down in living that I have described, and which I identify with the phenomena of cultural erosion, presents patterns of behaviour such as aggression, delinquency, family break down, etcetera, that are increasing in our southern culture, it is obvious that we have not discovered suitable techniques to prevent totally this deviant social behaviour.

It would be my recommendation that, in the same manner as huge sums of money

have been directed towards exploration in discovering the energy sources in the north, appropriate budgetting be considered to research methods of effecting change without destruction. This cannot be dealt with by funds alone, although such are necessary, and it cannot be dealt with by sociological experts from the south, although they will have a contribution of significance. It will mean resourcing the native leaders and professional experts in the behavioural sciences in a way that they meet in collegueship, seeking new systems to deal with existing problems. I am convinced that if the same energies and monies were directed towards researching the problems of human behaviour, such as aggression and breakdown in living, as have been directed towards solving the technical problems of the pipeline, that we might all learn how we might walk on the land together.

SUMMARY.

I submit my opinion that the rapid imposition of the southern culture on the citizens of the northern communities with the arrogant and unjustified assumption that it is a preferred system and good for the people, has, in fact, created social deviancy.

There is much evidence of an increasing incidence of breakdown in family living and traditional value systems and, as a consequence, within the broad definition of mental health an inability to adjust comfortably to the new social system has been the result.

To deal with these problems we have tried to utilise traditional methods of delivering health services, social services, educational resources and legal process, with very little input from the native people, and with little thought as to whether traditional patterns of service from the south have any appropriate application in the north.

We have very little evidence to substantiate that the process has been successful, if the measure of success is the comfortable adaptation of people to the new social structure.

There has been only limited consultation with the native Canadian people as to how the transition might be achieved, assuming that it is desirable. It would be my recommendation that a permanent Commission, somewhat like the Law Reform Commission of Canada be established to review these issues and make suitable recommendations to Government.

Its task would be to examine and design new types of systems that would be appropriate in effecting the evolution of the southern and northern cultures to achieve a new and meaningful Canadian culture. If such could be effected by peaceful means it would make history.

Such a Commission should be composed of native Canadian people with some social scientists and economists who are well experienced in the northern communities, and indeed there are such Canadians.

Such a Commission would be constantly receiving input from many sources and would be the most competent instrument to recommend change and education, social development and economic policies that would allow for the integration of the north without its destruction.

If the citizens of a nation are to exist comfortably together, their actions must be the result of a philosophy of sharing and basic trust. Certain policies are necessary to make such a philosophy a productive model.

Every citizen must expect to share in the resources of the land and be permitted, as far as the security of all will allow, to exercise his individual and collective rights.

I therefore suggest that for the effective sharing of resources an equitable formula must be struck to deal with the land rights of the native people.

If a successful resolution of these claims is not achieved we will continue to reinforce the feelings of discrimination that future generations will have to resolve and which history demonstrates has been the genesis of unrest and violence in much of the so-called civilised world.

I make a strong plea that with the object of achieving a state of mental health for all Canadian citizens, that we address ourselves to the problem of creating a new culture, a new society, in which the rights of all citizens are held as sacred.

CURRICULUM VITAE.

John D. Atcheson, M.D.

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ACADEMIC TRAINING.

University of Western Ontario: M.D. 1941.
Hamilton General Hospital: Resident 1941-42.
Sug. Ltd. Commd., R.C.N.: Active Duty 1942-45.
Allan Memorial Institute of Psychiatry, McGill University: Registrar 1944-45.
Ontario Hospital, Hamilton: 1945-46.
Toronto Psychiatric Hospital: 1946.
Diploma in Psychiatry, University of Toronto: 1946.
C.R.C.P.(C) Psychiatry, 1947.
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CLINICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Director, Juvenile and Family Court Clinic, Toronto: 1947-57.
Consultant, Training Schools, Department of Corrections: 1949-57.
Director, Treatment Services, Department of Corrections: 1958.
Superintendent, Thistletown Children's Psychiatric Hospital, 1958-69.
Medical Director and Chief-of-Staff, Thistletown Regional Centre for Children and Adolescents, 1969 to 1971.
Consultant to Eastern Arctic, Department of National Health and Welfare, 1965 to date.
Senior Psychiatrist, Forensic Out Patient Service, Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, 1971 - to date.

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS.

Associate, Faculty of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto, 1947-57.
Assistant Professor, Faculty of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto 1957-65.
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PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Canadian Medical Association.
Ontario Medical Association.
Canadian Psychiatric Association.
Ontario Psychiatric Association.
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HONOURS.

Past President, Ontario Psychiatric Association, 1965.
Fellow, American Psychiatric Association, 1958.
Canadian Centennial Medal, 1968.
Honorary Life Member, Ontario Child Care Workers Association.

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The north, like most colonies, has always been governed to a large extent by regulation. The term "delegated legislation" is now somewhat unfashionable, but perhaps better describes a situation in which many significant decisions are made not directly by a responsible legislature but rather by an executive and administration who exercise broad and often ill-defined powers delegated to them. This of course is a common practice in the south as well, but in the north the people do not even possess the ultimate sanction of removing from legislative power those responsible for delegating it to a government or bureaucracy. In addition the legislating authority for the north is itself located outside of the territories and exercises its power through middle and lower management in the north answerable not to northerners but to bureaucratic superiors and political masters in the south.

The purpose of delegating legislative power is usually to permit day to day administration of public affairs by public servants. In the north however much of what would more normally be thought of as policy-making is also conducted through regulation. Possibly through limited interest in the region and perhaps because of its miniscule political influence, the federal government has traditionally chosen to legislate for the north only in the broadest of terms and to leave any detailed policy-making and planning to its various departments and their senior officials. I do not mean by this to suggest, as high school civics texts often do, that Parliament makes the laws and the civil service administers them. Senior officials clearly play a major role in suggesting and drafting legislation as well, but in the case of the north there has been little government inclination to spell out in detailed legislation its public purpose and even less interest has been shown in such matters by the federal legislature. The end result is a situation in

which no one involved in the higher echelons of northern decision-making is responsible to the people for whom the decisions are presumably being made. And these decisions, or at least many of the most important of them, are made through regulation.

"Regulation" has two kinds of meaning to political scientists. One is the type suggested above--the specifics of legislation spelled out as directives to both public servants and the population at large on how they should or should not go about the business of administering and adhering to laws made on their behalf by their representatives. Regulations pertaining to the structure and safety of this building are a good example as are those that provide for the orderly movement of traffic on the streets. A second kind of regulation emerged from the New Deal and the aftermath of the Depression when Keynesian economics suggested that one way to patch up or cover up the more blatant inefficiencies and inequities of capitalism was to regulate key sectors and industries in the public interest. It is worth remembering that both at the time and since many of the industries brought under this kind of regulation have in fact welcomed it as a means of controlling the vagaries of the market place and guaranteeing long term viability and profitability. The history of such regulation is replete with evidence of this, and of the extent to which the regulated industries have "captured" the agencies that supposedly regulate them.

The distinction between these two concepts of regulation is by no means clear and there are obvious overlaps between them. What does distinguish them quite well is the way in which their effectiveness is assessed. Regulation of the second sort is traditionally an economic concept and both its practitioners and evaluators have typically been economists and lawyers. Both tend to be circumscribed by their calling and economists in particular have come to judge

the regulatory process almost exclusively by its economic impact on the regulated. That is to say the performance criteria of any system of regulation is commonly economic utility and particularly that of the regulated industries themselves. If you want to evaluate the effectiveness of the CTC's regulation of air transportation you look first at the balance sheets of the airlines involved. That profitability of the regulated is, to put it rather simply, the touchstone of a regulatory system's effectiveness, was amply demonstrated last November during the first conference on research into the regulatory process in Canada held at McGill. If this is how the academics analyse regulation then it should come as little surprise that those involved as regulators tend to adopt similar principles in conducting their day to day affairs.

There are two fundamental weaknesses with looking at regulation in this fashion. One is that there is little evidence to suggest that the economic viability of a regulated industry or activity is any measure of its social utility. Just because an airline makes money does not mean that it either provides the most efficient service to its passengers, or that the services it offers are in the long run those of greatest benefit to the larger society of which its passengers form a (usually small) part. Economic analysis is no measure of social impact.

The second weakness of this approach is that it has very little to say in the case of environmental regulation or any kind of regulatory activity that is not designed primarily to serve an economic interest. The economists have a hard time identifying who the "clients" are in a system of land or water use regulation and while the goals of this kind of regulation may well be reasonably clear it is not so easy to identify at a practical level precisely

what or who is being regulated. Efforts have been made to quantify even such things as snow geese--I believe I have heard a figure of somewhere in the region of \$75 a head when everyone's costs (excluding the goose's) are added up--but in the long run economic analysis offers little enlightenment where economic concerns are not the primary goal of regulation. Land use regulation for example may have substantial economic impact on industry but this is not, at least officially, the central concern behind introduction of such measures.

Regulation that is concerned very broadly with protection of the environment constitutes I suspect a third type that combines elements of the two outlined above, along with a developing concern about our homocentric attitude towards the biosphere that supports us and a whole range of issues associated with the insights of ecological thinking. If one looks at the development, administration and enforcement of the Territorial Land Use Regulations it becomes clear that they are neither a technique for regulating the general affairs of the northern population, nor specifically a means for regulating the activities of industry to its own economic benefit. Rather they come from a complex of concerns about the environment that are at the same time bound up with others that centre around the development of resources. It is this ambiguity of origin and purpose that not only leads to ambiguity and ineffectiveness in implementation but also to more important questions about the ability of regulation to play any significant role in protecting the future of a great river valley and its people.

I want first however to look briefly at two systems of regulation now operating in the north, one a conventional regulation of industry and the other a system of environmental regulation. In both cases there is confusion about goals and scope in addition to weaknesses in administration and enforcement

that in the end not only fail to achieve declared but limited goals, but also cast doubt upon the social utility of any form of government regulation as presently conceived and implemented in the north.

The case of regulation with respect to the Mackenzie river demonstrates the degree to which a regulatory system can become redundant and ineffective while at the same time firmly institutionalised. The Water Transport Committee of the Canadian Transport Commission is charged with regulating all vessels of over 10 tons gross weight operating for hire or reward on the Mackenzie river and its tributaries (Transport Act, section 2(1)). This excludes contract carriage, traffic whose destination is beyond the mouth of the river (both west to the North Slope and east as far as Spence Bay), and similar shipping situations such as the Yukon waterway or Hudson Bay. Applicants for licences must furnish "details of the public necessity and convenience requiring the proposed service to be established" (Part 1, section 5) under section 27 of the National Transportation Act, ^{and} the CTC may investigate and even disallow the acquisition of one company by another in the same business if "such acquisition will unduly restrict competition or otherwise be prejudicial to the public interest."

At the present time this function is the only one of any significance performed by the staff of the Water Transport Committee. While they appear to administer the regulatory provisions with reasonable accuracy and efficiency in Ottawa, they have no field staff who might ensure compliance nor can they do much about the myriad of loopholes in their governing statutes that are designed to protect the public interest by ensuring that there is competition among carriers on the river. The credibility of the entire exercise is undermined by the requirement that licenses be issued on an annual basis to

each "successful" applicant. This is a redundant provision in the case of well established carriers like NTCL and places an unnecessary burden on both carriers and regulators as well as generating a veritable mountain of paper each year. In addition the process of licence granting has often been so slow (with blame on both sides) that carriers have started spring operations before their licence applications have been approved. This hardly contributes to the image of the Water Transport Committee as an effective regulator and no doubt provides good grounds for challenging them should they ever deny a licence to a determined applicant.

In addition to the largely technical problems of this process there is the question of whether the competition that it is supposed to foster really serves the public interest in attempting to, as a former chairman of the committee said in 1969 "keep operations from deteriorating to either of the two extremes of oversupply of services and cut-throat competition on the one hand or inadequate service and monopoly conditions on the other." The regulatory process does not properly distinguish service to communities (a predictable annual requirement that may not be profitable) from service to the hydrocarbon industry that has been the prime cause of the substantial increase in carriers following the Prudhoe Bay discovery. It may for example be the case that service to communities might best be served by a regulated monopoly rather than by regulated competition as presently required by the various transportation statutes.

A third serious question about this whole process is whether in fact it works even within its own limited terms of reference, for it looks very much as if the situation with marine transportation on the Mackenzie would have developed the way it has whether or not there was any system of federal

regulation. Carriers have entered the Mackenzie trade on the promise of greatly expanded traffic if and when a pipeline is constructed, and the Water Transport Committee has had a singular lack of success in keeping carriers off the river even when large corporations have clearly purchased smaller carriers with the sole intent of acquiring their licences. Though such acquisitions carry no guarantee that a licence will be renewed, the Committee to date has never refused one to a carrier obviously intent upon entering the Mackenzie trade. The main effect of the regulatory process has been to place a disproportionate financial and administrative burden upon the existing smaller carriers, often the ones providing essential services to northern communities.

The main conclusion one can draw from looking at this example of northern regulation is that the behaviour of the regulators has been occasionally over-bureaucratic, but largely innocuous, redundant and an unnecessary charge on the public purse. The regulated carriers have pressed their views with characteristic vigour but in the case of at least one of them they have now abandoned the practice of opposing new licence applicants in front of the Water Transport Committee, on the understandable grounds that even in the unlikely event that it was rejected, the applicant would go ahead and move onto the river anyway. The Committee has made reasonable efforts to treat each applicant equally and has on occasion held meetings in the west closer to the actual area of operations. Even then however an adversary proceeding before a regulatory board involves legal and travel costs that are more easily borne by large corporate carriers than small family ones. The only conclusion one can draw from an examination of the Mackenzie waterway is that the regulatory system works neither in theory (to protect the public

interest by fostering competition) nor in practice (by regulating entry into the carriage trade on the Mackenzie.) Given the size and strength of the companies now involved and the potential profits to be realised from major energy developments it is hard to see how any form of regulation could effectively protect the public interest or more specifically the particular interest of Mackenzie valley communities who rely heavily upon river carriers for regular supplies.

The other regulatory system I want to look at is that under the Territorial Land Use Regulations. The evidence below is based upon work undertaken by Peter Usher and myself in 1972 and 1973 and published by the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee under the title Land Regulation in the Canadian North, and on additional field work undertaken by Meish Podlog and myself in 1975 and 1976. I do not propose to deal at any great length with ^a detailed examination of either the administration or enforcement of the Regulations, but rather want to look at the regulatory process in general, the behaviour of the regulators and the regulated, the question of administrative justice and that of regulatory performance. I will then look briefly at recent amendments to the Regulations and suggest some conclusions about them based upon those reached in the 1973 report as amended by our re-examination.

The main problem with the regulatory process in general is first of all, as suggested earlier, the degree to which northern development policy is implemented by regulation rather than legislation, and more particularly the nature of the broad policy framework of which the Land Use Regulations are a part and within which they fit. There is to be sure a policy statement on northern development published as Canada's North 1970-1980, but there is also

a widespread feeling outside government (and expressed many times in evidence before this Inquiry) that in practice the government pursues its declared priorities in the reverse order to that espoused. That is, the extraction of non-renewable resources takes precedence over the social concerns of northern people and the protection of the northern environment. If that is so the Land Use Regulations, as a prime component of environmental protection, are compromised in their application right from the start. Their credibility is not enhanced by concerns about the origin and drafting both of the original regulations promulgated in late November 1971 and the more recent amendments. Though a group of conservationists played a small part in drafting the initial regulations there was no similar involvement with the amendments, just as there has been no public involvement in the re-drafting of the Canada Oil and Gas Land Regulations. The fact that the energy industry has been consulted during the re-drafting process only adds to the feeling that they, and not the environment, are the real "clients" and that their interest, rather than the public interest in environmental protection, is the one being served. While it is true that in practice most land use applications have come from the energy industry, it is nevertheless the declared intent of the Land Use Regulations to protect northern lands from all users rather than to regulate a specific industry to its own long run economic advantage.

With respect to the behaviour of the regulators the greatest problem is still the dominance of one federal department in the drafting, administration, enforcement and prosecution of violations under the Regulations. The northern programme of the Department of Indian and Northern affairs is simultaneously charged with the promotion of resource development and the protection of the

environment. There is a clear and demonstrable conflict of interest here despite the suggestion by one former senior official that the two are natural candidates for joint administration since "Without development there would be no environmental problem." A second problem that undermines the claim to serve the public interest is the continuing lack of participation in the process. This is true both internally and externally. Internally within government the Land Use Advisory Committee continues to be dominated by DINA, and officials from other federal departments as well as the Territorial government still feel that their concerns and responsibilities are inadequately considered in the process of permit consideration, issuance and enforcement.

Externally the administration still refuses public access to the deliberations of the Land Use Advisory Committee even though it remains an unofficial advisory body charged with providing the best advice available on each land use application. DINA still however continues to hold occasional joint meetings of the Advisory Committee with industry, who can be relied upon ^{to} ~~the~~ press their own limited corporate interests rather than those of the natural environment whose protection is supposedly the rationale for the whole regulatory system. At the same time the notorious secrecy of the energy industry and government acquiescence in this situation seems at variance with the interest of environmental protection, which is often undermined by the duplication of such programmes as seismic over the same areas by different companies.

The third fundamental problem with the behaviour of the regulators is their own background. The senior official in the system is designated

as "the Engineer" by the Regulations and an engineering background is specified in the job description. There seems to be little reason for this common bias, particularly in the regulation of environmental protection, and one wonders why a forestry or environmental science background might not be equal assets. At the same time other participants in the system have histories and experience that bias them towards the usual concerns of industry. The staff of the Regional Oil and Gas Conservation Engineer's office come mostly from an industry background and from interviews conducted over the past two summers clearly sympathise with the concerns of land use operators rather than those of environmentalists. Within the Land Use Regulations administration there are people with similar backgrounds and among Land Use Inspectors a dearth of adequate training for their jobs. While a proper training programme would be of some assistance it remains a moot point as to how effective any system of regulation can possibly be over hundreds of operations, many highly mobile, covering hundreds and thousands of square miles. The cost of properly monitoring all operations, even if skilled inspectors were available and backed up ^{by} environmentally knowledgeable and sympathetic administrators, would be simply prohibitive.

There is little that can be said about the behaviour of the regulated, mostly because of the cost and difficulty of obtaining direct information about it. There is however some evidence, mostly gained from land use inspection reports and interviews with land use inspectors, that suggests that the larger the operation or the company involved the more they tend, or are able to treat the Regulations as a minor hindrance and one more extra cost of doing business in the north. There has been an overall improvement in the environmental sensitivity of land users and in the technology they employ to carry out their work. On the other hand inspection reports continue

to show carelessness, stupidity and apparently flagrant violations of the Regulations whenever compliance would involve more than a minor disruption to a programme or timetable. Although one or two operators may deliberately disregard the Regulations it is more often the case that they and their field crews are by nature simply not attuned to working with environmental considerations in mind, and no amount of regulation is likely to change this deep-seated attitude in the immediate future.

Communications are often poor both technically and philosophically between operators and inspectors, and often it seems between the environmental staff and management of companies and their own field personnel. These problems are not helped by the disagreements and confusion seen^h among the various regulatory agencies involved in land use. The Oil and Gas people are clearly more sympathetic to the energy industry than thoseⁱⁿ the Land Use section directly responsible for administering the Regulations, and the new requirement for concurrence by Oil and Gas Conservation Officers in the shutting down of oil rigs (section 31 (6)) will only exacerbate this situation. In addition it is not uncommon for representatives of different government agencies to visit the same work site, sometimes on consecutive days, and usually with quite different perspectives and regulatory powers to administer. When one adds in the turnover in staff, even among Land Use people, and the different weight individual inspectors give to different aspects of a land use operation, it is perhaps not surprising that field management and crews are confused about what is required of them and tend to disregard conflicting environmentally based instructions in favour of conducting their affairs as previous experience, usually not in the north, has taught them is best.

As suggested above in looking at the behaviour of the regulators, a key question in the area of administrative justice is the dominant role played by

the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in the administration and enforcement of the Land Use Regulations. Northerners and environmentalists, who probably have the largest stake in the success of this regulatory system, feel quite strongly that DINA is not an unbiased assessor of land use applications and a sympathetic enforcer of environmental stipulations, but rather an active supporter, and in the case of Panarctic and active partner, of corporate land users, particularly those from the energy industry. These fears are only heightened by inherent weaknesses in the appeal process from decisions by the DINA Land Use administration in Yellowknife. At a technical level, when Land Use is unsure about the approval of an application involving innovative techniques, the matter is usually referred to its own experts in Ottawa for a professional opinion. While this is an understandable practice there is some evidence that this group is under pressure to respond positively to such innovations as multiplicity shooting, either from their departmental superiors or from their peer group in industry who are usually better informed and more current on the state of the art. When the legal route of appeal from a decision by the Engineer also lies upwards through the department to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs (section 35) it is not surprising that northerners feel the cards to be stacked pretty heavily against their interests.

One matter that has been addressed in the revised Regulations is that of the time period between receipt of an application and a decision on it. Section 19 now provides for a total of 52 days comprising 10 days for an initial response under s.19(1) and 42 days for further consideration if required (19(2)). This increase from the original time limit of 30 days is a definite improvement although work this summer in the Mackenzie Delta suggests that such an extension may not in itself have solved problems originally

thought to have originated with the limited period for decision-making. Two main problems still remain with the consultation process over granting or withholding of land use permits. One involves the time it takes to gather all relevant opinions, particularly from the people most likely to be affected who many times are away from their communities living on the very land that is to be used in the proposed operation. Thirty days was often too little to consult with them, particularly as in practice the actual time between a community receiving details of an application and the time within which government requested a response was reduced on occasion to a matter of days rather than weeks. The second problem, and one that is getting worse rather than better, is that communities are now being swamped with applications and proposals about which they have very little technical knowledge and to which they are able to devote only a limited amount of time. Community councils have many other responsibilities in addition to the assessment of land use applications, and merely providing them with edited versions of land use applications and asking for a response does not constitute what one would properly consider a due process of consultation.

In evaluating overall regulatory performance some persistent problems remain as well as parallels with similar difficulties in other northern regulatory systems such as the Northern Inland Waters Act or that on the Mackenzie river. Some of the problems are inherent in the very structure of the process. Land Use Inspectors who constitute the bottom line when it comes to effective enforcement are employees of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, an organisation publicly committed to and deeply involved in the whole process of extracting northern resources. This cannot but place constraints on their freedom of action and combined with inadequate working conditions and poor promotion prospects has led to a generally low level of

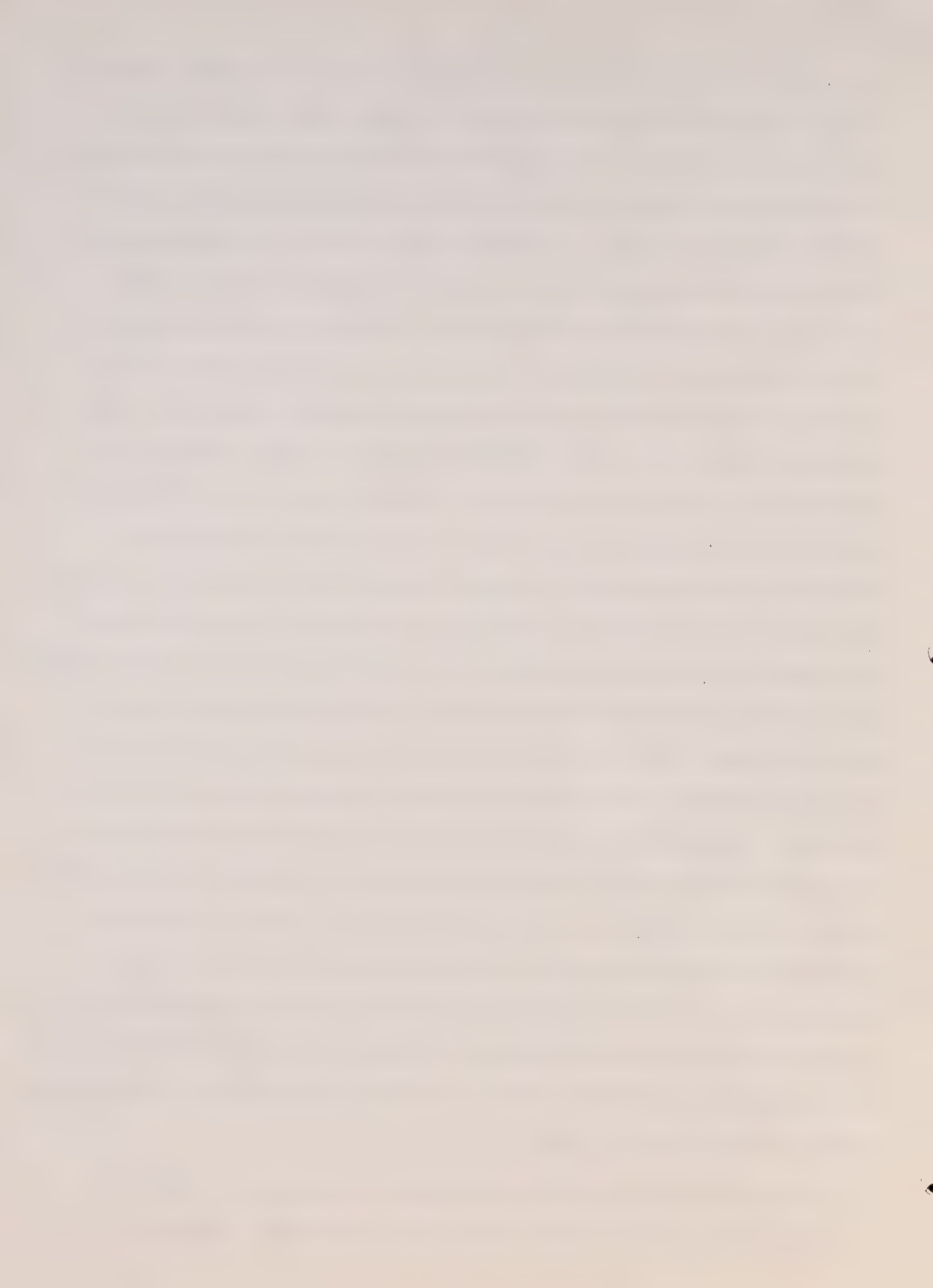
morale among the field staff. Even when Land Use Inspection reports indicate persistently poor performance by operators there is rarely immediate action and always the fear that pressure on superiors will delay effective moves until the operation has been completed. The field staff are not properly trained for their role and in any case it is for them usually only one among a variety of responsibilities they have. They understandably feel somewhat powerless in the face of large land users who are much better informed than they are and who receive direct and indirect support from their own superiors within the department.

Perhaps the greatest failing in the system lies with the final sanction of prosecution. If there were a history of effective prosecution of offenders along with heavy penalties, this would provide a powerful incentive for improved performance on the part of land use applicants. In fact there have been very few prosecutions and most of these have resulted in what amount to nominal fines for the offenders. We conducted many interviews around this question over the past two summers in an effort to discover a reason for the paucity of prosecutions in the face of substantial evidence of inadequate performance originating in both inspection reports and interviews with field staff. A persistent problem, and one evident from the inception of the Land Use Regulations, is the attitude of DINA's senior officials in the north that prosecution of a violation of the Regulations amounts to "an action which indicates the failure of the government to efficiently control orderly development."

This view is not shared by people from other departments, who disparage DINA's approach to offenders that "if you guy's don't smarten up we will charge you." Fisheries officials and the Environment Protection Service have no qualms about wielding their legislative and regulatory power through prosecutions, with the result that they command more respect from real and

river that apart from the rather general goal of serving the public interest there is no clear policy on how the river carriage trade should operate, an inadequate and leaky set of regulations for the Water Transport Committee to administer, and in reality no enforcement of its decisions and no means of bringing violators to heel. In the more important case of the Territorial Land Use Regulations there is ample evidence to indicate that the federal government and particularly the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs is at the very least ambivalent in its attitude towards protection of the northern environment against the degradations of industrial land use. This is well reflected in the policy statement referred to earlier which clearly lays out policy goals at direct variance with one another. As to the second criteria suggested above, it has already been noted that the Regulations themselves are inadequate even on paper to the task of protecting the northern environment. Their content is criticised at some length in our 1973 report and I want now to look only briefly at the recent amendments to see what changes have been made. On the positive side the revised Regulations now bring a much wider range of land use operations under their control and the net of regulatory coverage is now cast over virtually all significant activities in the north. The Regulations now clearly place responsibility on the operator to restore his permit area to as near as possible its original condition before completion of his operation or expiry of his permit. There are also some improvements in the specification of who may properly apply for a permit, particularly in the area of placing responsibility on the party financially and actually responsible for an operation. And mention has already been made of the provision for an extended period of time for consideration of an application before a decision has to be made.

On the debit side some glaring deficiencies remain, and in some cases retrograde steps have been taken in the recent amendments. Section 3 (1) (c)



still excludes "lands, the surface rights to which have been disposed of by the minister" despite the obvious ambiguity of this statement and the doubts it raises as to what kinds of activity might properly come within the scope of the Land Use Regulations. The new Regulations leave unclear the relationship between their provisions and those of the Northern Inland Waters Act, and the creation of a single land management zone for each territory runs directly against the principle of applying different regulatory criteria to environmentally distinct regions which, especially in the case of the Yukon, involve different kinds of industrial activity. Section 16 (2) allows an operator to take emergency action contrary to the Regulations if conditions threaten life or property, but there is no similar provision for emergency action should the threat be to the environment or the ecology of the area. Section 19 referring to Class A and B permits is almost incomprehensible and section 26 dealing with security deposits stipulates an upper limit of \$2500 per hectare that would be entirely inadequate in terms of restoration in cases such as a large oil spill. Section 31 (6) requiring concurrence of the Oil and Gas Conservation authorities when an Inspector orders the shut-down of an oil rig is clearly a retrograde step given the demonstrable sympathies of the Oil and Gas section. Although the previous limitation that a shut-down could only be ordered by the Engineer rather than the inspector in the field has been removed, it has been replaced by this requirement of concurrence by an official whose background and experience predispose him towards giving the benefit of the doubt to an operator, rather than towards a Land Use Inspector concerned with potential environmental damage.

In our 1973 report we made 23 specific recommendations with respect to the Territorial Land Use Regulations. I have suggested above that the

Regulations lack clear policy guidance and support and that they are in themselves internally inadequate on paper to the task of environmental protection. The bulk of the preceding analysis has been concerned with the third criteria for effective regulation and leads to the conclusion that whatever the state of the policy and the regulations themselves, the state of field enforcement is a rather sorry and ineffectual one. These distinctions should however be viewed more as useful ways of analysing the situation, than as guidelines for distinct and separate changes in either the administration or enforcement of the Land Use Regulations. In the long run a perfect set of regulations derived from a clear statement of policy are no more socially useful if inadequately enforced than an indifferent and flawed set of regulations that are nevertheless enforced with vigour and energy wherever and whenever possible. The two--administration and enforcement--go together, and it is with this in mind that I would like to look very briefly at the 1973 recommendations placed in the context of what we now know about the administration and enforcement of the Regulations in the ensuing three years. Our earlier recommendations were:

1. In the long run conservation legislation should not be under the sole control of a government department whose major and legitimate interest is the promotion of northern resource development.

While some conservation legislation continues to be administered by Environment Canada there have been no transfers of jurisdiction over the northern environment since 1973. DINA remains the dominant department with respect to both development and environmental protection.

2. A concise preamble, stating the purposes, philosophy and goals of land management and environmental protection in the North

should be added to the Territorial Lands Act and/or its Regulations. The situation remains unchanged since 1973 and there is still no preamble.

3. Notwithstanding the foregoing, we believe it is already apparent that specific legislation is required for the protection of wildlife resources, and that a land settlement be made with native northerners which would allow them substantial control over land use.

No changes have been made in this respect and fish and wildlife are still mentioned only incidentally in the revised Regulations.

4. There should be expanded research efforts designed to provide an information base directly related to the regulation of land and water use.

There have been substantial research efforts undertaken in the past three years, though not directly related to regulation. The majority of them have been conducted by the native people themselves under the Land Use and Occupancy studies and it remains a moot point as to how far studies related to use have been incorporated into those studying impact. Certainly the conclusions of these studies have not found their way into any modified system of land and water use regulation.

5. Administration of the Land Use Regulations should be separated from that of the Northern Inland Waters Act.

They are both still administered by the same bureaucracy in Yellowknife.

6. The definition of a land use operation under the Regulations should be broadened to include the use of lighter vehicles.

This has been accomplished in the recent amendments.

7. Permit applications should be required, and processed, at an earlier stage of operations.

The scope of the revised Regulations now formally covers most staging operations.

There are however still instances of operators proceeding prior to issue of a permit and the 30 day waiting period between application and decision has not been "at least doubled" as we recommended, but extended to a 10-day initial decision period with an additional 42 days if further consideration is required.

8. Every applicant should be required to submit an environmental impact statement for his operation.

The situation remains unchanged and these may be required still at the discretion of the Engineer.

9. In the immediate future the Land Use Advisory Committee should be expanded into a public group or forum.

This has not happened and the committee functions much as it did in 1973.

10. Regional Land Use Committees should be established to enable communities to participate more directly in the review process.

Apart from an effort by the communities themselves to establish something along these lines in the Mackenzie Delta the government has made no move in this direction. The recommendation is if anything more significant now that the scope of the Regulations has been extended to cover the whole of the territorial north including areas with which the administration is quite unfamiliar.

11. The provisions respecting postponement of a decision on applications should be used more liberally, as should the pre-permit inspection provisions.

There has been very little change in this over the past 3 years.

12. The present one way right of appeal should be extended to those who object to the granting of a permit as well as to those whose applications have been refused.

No action taken.

13. "Consultation" should cease to consist of government officials trying to persuade the people of the benefits of resource development can bring.

There is some evidence of considerable sympathy on the part of DINA staff in the field, but the approach criticised in 1973 is still the one often adopted by more senior officials within DINA.

14. The settlement councils should receive far more complete information on permit applications.

They do now usually receive this and their experience in the past few years has better equipped them to deal with many applications. Moreover more information might simply lead to more overload. However, we anticipated this possibility in 1973 when we recommended in addition that they "should also be provided with funds to hire technical and legal experts to assist in their evaluation of applications." Funds for these purposes have never been allocated.

15. Full minutes should be kept of all Land Use Advisory meetings and a complete report from the committee should be forwarded to settlement councils.

The minutes are still brief, uninformative and confidential.

16. The job classification of the Engineer should be opened up to permit an ecologist, forester or other environmentalist to occupy this central position rather than only a qualified Engineer.

The re-organisation of the Northern Programme has changed somewhat the role played by "the Engineer" in 1973 and the present occupant of the position is a former member of the enforcement staff rather than an administrator. This recommendation was intended to get at what we found to be an attitude rather than a qualification, and there is little recent evidence to suggest that the department as a whole is any less sympathetic towards industry and more sympathetic towards the environment than it was three years ago.

17. Much greater use should be made of native people for inspection and enforcement.

There are now more native people involved with regulatory enforcement, but none of them are in senior positions and all are subject not only to the limitations placed on field staff outlined elsewhere in this evidence but also to the sanction of people in their home communities. The hope that environmental protection might be substantially transferred to the hands of northern people themselves has not been realised.

18. Land Use Inspectors should be given the power to suspend land use operations on their own authority.

They have now been given this power subject to confirmation by their administrative superiors. It represents some improvement over the 1973 situation although our more recent investigations have pin-pointed and clarified in greater detail the personal and systemic limitations that exist on the discretion of individual Land Use Inspectors.

19. Clean up problems should be fully anticipated, and clean up procedures fully incorporated into the original land use permit.

This has been done in the revised Regulations although problems still exist in enforcing such conditions.

20. A satisfactory final inspection report should be mandatory prior to issuing an operator any new permits.

This has not been implemented and operators who have failed to complete and clean up one site are still routinely granted permits for other operations in other locations.

21. Security deposits should be mandatory and the ceiling of \$100,000 raised. Security deposits are still discretionary, have hardly ever been withheld, and the ceiling remains at \$100,000.

22. The penalty provisions of the Regulations should be rigorously enforced to the maximums provided for in the Act.

The maximums themselves remain far too low and very few successful prosecutions have taken place. In most cases where prosecution promises to be successful, operators have settled out of Court or put up little resistance in the face of the minimum penalties likely to ensue and the possibly detrimental publicity likely to follow from a protracted legal battle.

23. A comprehensive and equitable system of compensation to trappers and hunters for damage resulting from resource exploration activity should be implemented immediately.

Compensation has on occasion been offered, but it is not a statutory requirement and has been very minimal and inadequate.

It has not been my intention in this evidence Mr. Commissioner to produce a litany of inadequacy and failure with respect to the regulation of northern development, although that would be a fair conclusion to draw from the evidence. Nor is it I think sufficient to use the evidence as support for a "Throw the rascals out" attitude towards the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. What is more useful and what you are charged with undertaking is an examination of what should be done in the case of the proposed Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline, far and away the largest single land use operation ever proposed for the north. Two sorts of conclusion emerge I think from my own work. The first and more obvious one with respect to regulation is that at the very outset of any undertaking such as the pipeline one must have clear and unambiguous policy guidelines, a coherent and watertight set of regulations, and firm and effective enforcement. The Territorial Land Use Regulations are now almost five years old and in all three areas there are still glaring inadequacies. In the case of the proposed pipeline there will be no time for experimentation,

enterprise. This implies control of education and training for these purposes.

Having these conditions in mind makes it a good deal easier to evaluate the history and status of government regulation in the north both with respect to current land use and the proposed pipeline. I do not think that the Land Use Regulations, probably the most significant piece of environmental legislation applying to the north, do or could contribute much to the achievement of these goals. At best they apply only to the first condition and even there they are strictly limited to the physical environment and have little or nothing to say about the fish and wildlife base upon which northerners directly depend. The fact is, as we suggested in 1973, that the Regulations reflect the inherent environmental concern of southern conservationists rather than the immediate needs of northern native people. And at that, even given their very limited scope, they are still poorly administered and inadequately enforced. From the mass of evidence we have gathered with respect to the Regulations there is virtually nothing to suggest that the much vaunted concept of "multiple use" operates effectively to the mutual benefit of all concerned. Indeed even in principle it is easy to see that the concept is only viable from a certain kind of perspective. If one is engaged in cutting seismic lines, the proximity of a trap-line is little hindrance and a perfectly compatible alternative land use. If one were to ask the trapper what he thought about the compatibility of the seismic operation with his own work a rather different response would be forthcoming.

Mr. Commissioner, I can see ^{One} only way to proceed if one is seriously
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concerned about protecting the future of the Mackenzie, its flora, its fauna and its people. That is to withdraw certain lands entirely from industrial development. Some should be set aside as ecological preserves and some as lands

clearly assigned to native people for their use without even the possibility of expropriation for industrial purposes. It would then be up to them to decide what other uses, industrial or otherwise, would be compatible with their own aspirations for the land. In the final analysis government regulation, even environmentally and socially sympathetic regulation applying some kind of multiple-use concept, cannot offer the protection that the environment and people of the north must have. That can only be achieved if the power to decide is in their hands, and that in turn will only happen when lands identified as crucial to their survival have been withdrawn entirely from industrial initiative.

PANEL ONE.

INDUSTRIAL IMPACT

HUGH BRODY

EVIDENCE PRESENTED ON
BEHALF OF COPE

BERGER INQUIRY - YELLOWKNIFE
PHASE FOUR

Draft subject to revision

1. A Northern Paradox

The vastness, coldness, and low biological productivity of the North have given rise to a very remarkable paradox. On the one hand, human population has always been small and widely scattered. The largest single aboriginal Arctic community was probably no more than 2000 strong, and entire culture areas in the Canadian North comprised population clusters of between ten and fifty persons. The qualities of the North have meant that it lay for a long time beyond the reach of agricultural interest or industrial possibility. On the other hand, these same fundamental qualities have meant that once the industrial potential of the North became apparent, it has only been capable of being tapped economically by the application of huge amounts of capital and large-scale operations. Therefore, when industry does come to the North, we find the smallest, most isolated societies alongside some of the most costly and technically complex development projects in the world. Hence the paradox: the smallest alongside the largest, the most traditional alongside the most modern, and the most remote becoming involved with national or even international economic interests.

The interaction between industrial development and small, isolated communities has been a central part of social scientific concern since the 1920s. There is

a vast literature dealing with problems of culture contact and colonialism in all parts of the world. Yet the pattern in the Arctic does not fit easily into the best documented models. The reason for this is simple enough: industrial advance in the North does not represent a Southern wish to make use of either native peoples or of vast new lands. It includes neither of the main ingredients of classical colonialism - the wish to profit by reserves of labour or by increased land. Instead, it is motivated by what lies under the ground, in comparatively restricted areas, and shows a preference for imported labour, which it often houses and supports on industrial sites. This means that the impact of industrial development on small Northern communities does not necessarily have a great deal to do with the sudden penetration of a native community by overwhelming numbers of outsiders, nor does it mean the direct expropriation of land upon which native peoples have long depended. Having placed these differences on record, it is still important to look at the similarities.

The small community has a number of features that are of special relevance and importance. On the one hand are the economic factors: the small communities are poor - at least relatively so - and are economically dependent on the larger society for some essential goods. Local resources are not able, or are no longer able, to

support the population's demand for goods, even if it is theoretically possible for them to supply basic foodstuffs. On the other hand are the social factors: the small community is highly integrated, and local foodstuffs are shared in such a way as to maximize their use and minimize local inequalities. Family life is well regulated, and each generation grows into its expected roles without too much conflict. And, finally, there are the political factors: the small community is at least indirectly under the aegis of another, far more powerful social order of which it is politically a part.

These characteristics, as a set, constitute what sociologists have called an ideal-type and are not shared by all small communities. Moreover, the characteristics I have listed are more typical of remote societies where an aboriginal culture is of not too distant historical importance. They do, therefore, include the settlements and camps of the Canadian North, and it is worth keeping such factors firmly in mind when looking at the effect of industrial development on such communities. It is not just smallness that is of relevance, but also the degree of remoteness, political subordination, economic dependence, and solidarity of community and family life.

We must also be as clear as possible about the kind of industry that is at issue here. I have already said that the North is not experiencing massive influxes of White labourers or adventurers, as happened, for example, during the gold rushes in California and the Klondike. Nor is it experiencing the gradual settlement and transformation of the lands, as happened with the agricultural revolution in the Prairies. Nor is it experiencing the growth of cities with factories and proliferating secondary manufacture, as happened in the first colonies of the New World. We must be wary of finding analogies where analogies do not properly exist; and we must guard against an overly generalized idea of industry and industrial development.

In fact, industrial advance in the North has distinct characteristics. It is high wage, capital intensive, and dependent upon highly rationalized economies of scale. And, as I have also already suggested, it is a frontier mode of economy, and accordingly has distinct ideological components including individualism and encouragement to mobility of labour. In relation to policies for native peoples, it involves the strongly held view that it will provide things that native societies badly need - more money, opportunities for participation in the mainstream of Canadian life, and what is broadly thought of as 'progress'. Thus industry

is often seen, and indeed is often justified, as a solution to the problems of small native communities. In this discussion, then, I shall look as precisely as possible at the relation between these characteristics of Northern industrial advance and the characteristics of small Northern communities already discussed. I will cover three broad areas of inquiry - the economic, the social, and the political - with specific emphasis on the questions of money and sharing, as well as on problems of individualism, identity and mobility, and the way in which industrial development tends to be totally intrusive. Throughout I shall be supposing a simple model of industrial development in which a large, elaborate and costly programme for a mine or an oil-and-gas site is either geographically or economically close to a small native community.

2. Prosperity and Poverty

It is often said that Northern natives are poor, and that the obvious solution to the problem of poverty lies in providing more opportunities to earn higher wages. In fact, native income is not easy to calculate. One study of income distribution in the Mackenzie delta region, published in 1972, gives annual per capita earnings for Indians as \$839.64, for Eskimos as \$666.89, and Métis as \$1146.52. These figures are

capable of offering jobs at high wages and remembering, also, that members of the affected community are short of the money they need to buy goods and services that they have come to regard as essential, one consequence is likely to be a reduction of earnings or earning-equivalents from land-based and traditional activities.

This effect, however, is not as simple as it might at first appear. Industrial employment does not wipe out, at a stroke, all production of country foods; it does not even put an end to trapping and earnings from sales of furs. Indeed, because wage earners can afford to improve the technology they apply to the harvesting of renewable resources, high wages can actually be beneficial to traditional economic activity. But in the longer run, all the evidence suggests that whatever employment opportunities are created, whatever the levels of earning in the industrial sector, the use of land and production of country foods eventually declines. This trend is exemplified by Frobisher Bay, the Hay River-Pine Point area, and Inuvik. In Frobisher Bay, for instance, there is now a persistent shortage of country foods, including seal meat and whale skin, whereas fifteen years ago the area was providing enough meat and fish for the subsistence of about 65 per cent of the present Inuit population.

land - is regarded as communal. Requests for food were never refused; the right to use land was rarely disputed. Money, however, is not so readily shared. It tends to be regarded as the earner's own private property, and spent on his or her immediate family's personal needs. Moreover, it tends to be spent on consumer durable goods, which cannot be divided among neighbours. The shift towards a money economy thus creates a possibility for poverty that previously did not exist: those in want are more likely to stay in want, and substantial inequalities introduce themselves into native communities. This has implications for statistics about income levels. It is possible, in an unequal society where the basis of wealth is not shared, for average per capita income to go up, while the number of households experiencing poverty is also increasing. Total income and the number of poor people can rise together.

3. Identity and Mobility

Inequality is also evidenced by the way in which money benefits hunters. High earnings can be used to maximize a hunter's mobility and reduce the time needed for making kills; a new snowmobile, supplies of fuel and spare parts, and rifles with accurate telescopic sites go a long way towards ensuring a successful

hunt. But the families that are in a position to buy and maintain expensive equipment of this kind are the ones that have secured highly paid jobs. This means that those with most cash are also in the best position to be successful hunters. In fact, of course, their lifestyle and inclinations are frequently at odds with realizing such potential, but the paradox nonetheless remains. Those who are most inclined to hunt, and who have carefully elected to maintain the hunter's life pattern are often least equipped to hunt with efficiency. This means that hunters feel at a relative disadvantage vis-à-vis wage labourers, from a purely technological point of view. And, if the families with highest money incomes are not prepared to share their hunting produce, then the paradox becomes extreme: the hunters' families are the ones with least meat. In fact, the wage labourers, generally speaking, do not hunt so hard as to have a large amount of meat to share. Moreover, they are the men and women who are most involved with the individualistic notions of the new, outside social order, and therefore are the least inclined to share beyond their immediate family circle. This means that riches of all kinds tend to concentrate in fewer families, and that poverty begins to be associated with hunting, trapping and the traditional options.

Loss of prestige follows in the wake of economic disadvantage. Once hunting is associated with poverty the hunter loses his status within the society. In this way the small community's sense of cultural distinctiveness is eroded. On a global scale, small agricultural villages have suffered as much as groups of semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers wherever industrial development has established a rival economic mode. The problem is a social and psychological one, however, because the affected community has only partially lost its own sense of tradition and culture. Despite all the transformation that industry brings to the North, most Northerners continue to regard the land and use of the land as central to their identity. As this identity comes under pressure, it becomes harder and harder to live in a way that provides a sense of self, a sense of cultural worth, and therefore a sense of self-respect. These are difficult, perhaps obscure, social-psychological notions, but they correspond to the feelings and fears that are widespread in communities that are experiencing the impact of industry.

No amount of additional money income will resolve these problems - indeed, further development of the wage labour mode of economy will aggravate many of the difficulties. Communities in which this process has reached near extremes are now notorious. Frobisher

Bay, in the southern Baffin region, is perhaps the best known example. The 900 Inuit living in the town are always short of country foods, even seal meat. However, earnings are high, since a majority of families are supported by wage labour. The level of material life in Frobisher Bay is certainly higher than in any other settlement of that region if income and spending habits are taken as the standard. Despite their more or less complete incorporation into a money and labouring way of life, Inuit of Frobisher Bay express anxieties about their identity and say that they are hungry for 'real food'. The scale of the community's alcohol, prostitution, and family breakdown problems is all too well known. Less well known is the fact that a significant proportion of the community's Inuit wish to be able to spend more time hunting, and one group is trying to establish an Inuit community outside Frobisher as a permanent hunting camp. Over the past five years the problems in Frobisher have worsened, and, in some sectors, are close to becoming critical. Demoralization and social disorganization are spreading gradually deeper and deeper into the Inuit community there. This process will not be halted by more work or more money.

But the effects of industrial development are not only to be found in disorganized communities where the workers live. The frontier encourages men

to become mobile: work opportunities come and go, so the labourers must come and go as well. This is already happening in the eastern Arctic. During the late 1960s the wage labour sector was, in virtually every Eskimo settlement, associated with a number of part and full-time jobs in and around the village itself. However, the local community could provide only a limited number of jobs, so the availability of work for the new Northern industries looked like an opportunity for maintaining the rising standard of money earnings. But to take advantage of such opportunities, the workers had to go away from home. In the case of the oil and gas industry, they had to travel long distances, and, because of the arrangements at the Arctic Islands sites, they were away for twenty days in each month. Approximately 40 Inuit work each shift, which represents between 15 and 25 per cent of the labour pool of the communities concerned. If, however, nothing comes of the oil and gas search in the Arctic Islands area, then the communities will either have to accept a sudden and drastic loss of income, or their workers will have to go to some other location. In fact, there have been rumours that such an adjustment will be necessary, and the contingency plan provides for the men to go to the mine now being established at Strathcona Sound. In order to work there, they will have to accept much longer periods

away from home - perhaps as much as three months at a stretch. So the mobility of the work force becomes a condition of its ability to find work; those who do not want to be mobile must accept not earning; communities that want to avoid the effects of such mobility must accept that they cannot take advantage of the industrial frontier. But all the pressures, including those that stem more or less indirectly from governmental policies in the North, make it very difficult to decide against participation. As a result industrial development tends to create an increasingly mobile work force. That mobility causes the maximum of disruption to the home community and disorientation to the native worker.

4. The Total Intrusion Effect

A theme of my argument throughout this submission has been that the debit side of economic impact is at its greatest when development is both large scale and, from the local employment point of view, short term. A boom in the labour and money economy very rapidly causes changes in hunting and trapping practices as well as in spending habit. Evidence shows that in only a few years a community can become dependent on high earning levels, and store-bought food and clothing. The speed of this transition can itself be disruptive. It aggravates native feelings of non-participation and

loss of control, for their life is suddenly altered with a minimum of consultation and agreement with those most directly affected. In this situation there is no time for consideration of how changes can be moderated in the light of local needs and wishes.

The problem of consultation is of special relevance. On the one hand, Inuit have rarely felt able to oppose Southerners' wishes. As Southerners represent their innovations as their wish, they thereby minimize the possibility of the kind of dialogue that genuine consultation must entail. I discussed this matter in my first paper, but it needs to be reiterated in the context of industrial impact.

When a small society is incorporated into the industrial sector of the dominant economy, the effects are obviously enormous. If the society is relatively isolated and has a very different economic mode of existence, and the change is to take place in a short time, the effects are massive. The pressure of time in the industrial sector, however, means that there is little room for negotiation or consultation. Agreement from native communities may be secured, but if this is done in short order, and with a history of native acceptance of Southern purposes and ways, then such agreement is likely to be little more than notional or tokenistic. What is more, the discussions that do

take place have often been bedevilled by misunderstandings: there are serious language problems, not to mention the vastly different traditions of dialogue and social exchange that govern the representative of industry and the representatives of Inuit or Dene communities. Inuit are slow to decide, and prefer to wait on the gradual emergence of community opinion before expressing a definite point of view. They are also suspicious of mere opinion, and regard an error of judgement as a lie. But decisions about industry can rarely wait long - the harsh economic realities are always said to be pounding on the door. From the native point of view, their representatives seem to be stormed into making decisions, into giving agreements, and into expressing their wishes and conditions for the Southerners' programmes.

Yet these programmes are, very likely, going to transform every aspect of native life. If sociology and anthropology have a message, it is that the economic mode exerts an influence on every part of social and even personal life. Its transformation sends shock waves, often lasting more than a generation, through the societies affected. Consideration of these shocks, and attention to how they can be minimized or avoided, requires a great deal of time - time that is rarely allowed. As a result the inhabitants of small communities

are led to feel that everything that affects them most deeply is beyond their influence.

The case of the Nanisivik Mine in North Baffin Island (Strathcona Sound) is illustrative. The mine is situated only 15 miles from the community of Arctic Bay. In 1972-73 rumours reached Arctic Bay that the mine was going to be opened. In 1973-74 the government considered an application for a subsidy to the company concerned. Although ores had been discovered as long ago as the 1950s, and in 1962 the development potential of the area was examined, in all that time no background work had been done on the availability of labour, the kinds of impact the mine would have, and the attitude of the community as a whole to its establishment. The chairman of the Arctic Bay community council had worked for some years with the mining company as a guide and assistant, and his views were now canvassed. No in-depth or protracted investigations were carried out in either Arctic Bay or other settlements in the region from which labour was to be used. In 1974 a local Oblate missionary and a number of social scientists expressed concern about the impact, and reported that in some settlements there was growing unease about the possible effects of the mine.

Nevertheless, in June 1974 an agreement was signed between the Federal Government, the mining company,

and two representatives of the Inuit community. At about the same time the Arctic Bay community council wrote a formal letter protesting about several aspects of the mine as it was then planned, and also made clear its unhappiness at the way Inuit interests had not been allowed time to emerge. By the fall of 1975, workers were going to the mine from Pond Inlet, Igloolik, and Arctic Bay. If the Arctic Bay community council has reported the consultation procedure accurately, then they were pushed into agreeing to a project that they felt threatened the social well-being and possibly the very existence of their community. The councils of Pond Inlet and Igloolik were consulted only in so far as representatives of the Federal Government spent a few days in the area trying to point out all the advantages of the mine, and representatives of the mining company visited settlements to recruit workers.

It may happen that the Nanisivik mine will instigate the kinds of changes that this paper has tried to describe. If it does, it will have done so with scant attention to views and feelings of the Inuit people. This is largely a consequence of speed. It cannot be said too often that the relative scale of Northern extractive industries on the one hand, and small native communities on the other, works very much to the detriment of the small community. The disadvantage

is compounded by historical factors and the basically dependent status of Northern settlements. In this situation, haste is likely to maximize the potential for damage to Inuit and Dene life.

The relative disadvantage of small traditional communities can also be seen at the level of labour recruitment. Because the development is large scale, the impact is felt by everyone in the community: there is not so much a selection as a total intrusion. In the case of small-scale developments, those who are particularly qualified for - or inclined towards - wage labour are selected or select themselves; in the case of large-scale programmes, all available manpower is urged to move into the new job opportunities. Since those who live by hunting, trapping, and occasional labour are often regarded as partially or wholly unemployed, pressures are applied throughout the traditional sector of the economy. These direct pressures are intensified by the recurrent cash problem of those who have opted most firmly for a life based on renewable resource harvesting. So it is that persons - or even whole communities - most likely to have cultural and personal links with the land and its resources are most firmly pushed towards participation in industrial activities. Hence the total intrusion effect.

I have witnessed this process in the eastern Arctic, where industrial enterprises have tried to find Eskimo labour in communities where hunting and trapping are integral parts of life, but are not easily able to compete with the pressure from the corporation employment officers. As a result, those who work at the sites include men who most wish to be at work on the land, and the communities affected feel that their way of life - or the way of life they most value - is threatened.

I began this discussion by noting a paradox - the juxtaposition at the Northern frontier of the grandest, capital-intensive development projects and the smallest, most isolated of native societies. This co-existence is likely to be short-lived: the native communities are in danger of being engulfed by the social and economic modes of the extractive industries. In some locations this process is already under way, and we can witness its development. The paradox is revealed in the total intrusion effect, and the consequences for Northern communities are correspondingly severe.

But we should not be fatalistic. And there is not necessarily a need for the enforced isolation of small communities. The pace of industrial development can be restricted, and time allowed for suitably protracted consultation with and deliberation by Inuit and Dene peoples. It may transpire that an adjustment can be

made with various forms of industrial enterprise. But it will be an adjustment rather than a response to pressure, or another acquiescence, only if time is allowed for present experience and local opinion to mature. Similarly, the nature of local participation in industry can be controlled. Those who want to take their place in the extractive industries should, of course, be able to do so. But those who do not want to, or those who are anxious about maintaining what they regard as the traditional basis of their community's social and economic practices, must also be able to realize their aims.

Critics of industrial development are often regarded as enemies of progress. Social scientists who focus on the damaging impacts of extractive industries are often characterized as romantic dreamers who want to call a halt to history, to 'turn the clock backwards'. And there may, at times, be some truth in such allegations. But it seems to me that, in the end, real progress, human progress that is, in the interests of all Canadians, consists in expanding options, not in restricting them. It is when people or even whole societies cannot do the things they regard as most important and most useful that human pathologies spring up - when retreatism, apathy, and futile violence become endemic. Industry does not exist alone, but has socially and politically

determined forms. It is amenable to social controls, and can be put to the service of societies. It can, therefore, be either useful or destructive in the North. The larger the scale, the more urgent the impetus towards its development, the more scrupulously it must be monitored. And that requires time, patience, and intelligent regard to the experience at hand.

It is not for me to say what native Northerners do and do not want. But I do feel able to say that if industrial development is allowed to rush forward in the interests either of industry itself or of short-term gains to a segment of Southern society, then native society will experience the kinds of difficulties I have tried to describe. I find it hard to believe that anyone can want that.

OVERVIEW EVIDENCE
(PANEL TWO)

HUGH BRODY

EVIDENCE PRESENTED ON
BEHALF OF COPE

BERGER INQUIRY - YELLOWKNIFE
PHASE FOUR

Draft subject to revision

1. Ilira

There is an Eskimo word that characterizes the feeling that Whites inspire in Inuit. That word (or root) is 'ilira', and it is not easy to translate. It is a kind of fear, a blend of awe and intimidation: it is the feeling a strong and effective father inspires in his children; it is the feeling you have about a person whose behaviour you can neither control nor predict, but who is perhaps going to be dangerous; it is the feeling you have when you are in a room full of important strangers whose language you cannot understand; it is the feeling of a parent for his adult or teenage child who has somehow got out of control, and refuses to support his elders; and it is the feeling inspired by the trader, the missionary and the policeman, white strangers who were so obviously powerful, upon whom Inuit were so acutely dependent and who told people what to do and believe but were not often disposed to listen to what Inuit wanted to do and believe. Indeed, Inuit express their surprise and pleasure when they have dealings with a White who does not make them feel ilira.

In the course of two or more decades of dealings with Whites, Inuit came to have expectations and attitudes strongly influenced by the ilira they felt. They did not expect to be able to state their own opinions and criticisms of what Southerners were doing; they tended to accept the decisions of traders and missionaries, and to avoid all

possible confrontation. There took place what might be called political retreatism, as well as the careful preservation of a cheerful and obedient countenance. Native people came to present themselves as conciliatory and accepting. This meant that they were inclined to smile and look cheerful whenever they had dealings with Whites; it also meant that they did what they were asked to do, even when it was, in reality, something they thought wrong or foolish; and, in the end, it meant that they subordinated themselves to the changing whims of individuals no less than to shifts in prices or policies by which their lives were profoundly affected.

Retreatism of this kind is described by many Inuit who can recall the first introduction of schools. In some areas this was in the late 1950s, and in most areas followed directly on the trade and mission period, and represented one of the first major governmental initiatives in the North. In a series of 43 discussions I had on this subject with parents who were asked to give permission for their children to go to a federal school in a settlement, but who were living at the time in camp away from the settlement, 32 said they wanted to say 'no' to the officials by whom they were approached. All but 3, however, said 'yes', and, in many cases, against their own very strong feelings and quite different judgement, agreed to leave children in school or moved to a settlement to avoid being

separated from their children. This represents approximately a ⁹⁰70 per cent acquiescence rate. When describing their reasons for thus acquiescing, 21 of the 29 parents used the word ilira to explain their behaviour, and 14 used the word kappia, which means fear of danger. Eighteen talked of Whites as angajuqaat, bosses, and themselves as just not being able to do other than what they were told. Each person's description of the beginnings of the education programme involved some more or less explicit reference to their subordination to and dependence upon Southerners.

When Inuit talk about subsequent events, they indicate that these attitudes and their corresponding retreatism have tended to persist, or, in some cases even to be reinforced. During the 1950s and '60s, native people were taken to hospitals and prisons, or were presented with economic development projects, in a way that they could scarcely understand and that in any case continued to make them feel they must assent to outsiders' wishes. This may have been a consequence of language and other cultural differences, and may well have occurred despite the best intentions of the white officials concerned. But these officials nonetheless reinforced the native attitude and response to Southerners and Southern purposes: acquiescence, already established as part of traditional Eskimo dealings with the dominant society, simply continued.

Meetings with Southern officials are often described, and Inuit admit how reticent they are about saying what they think to Whites. This reticence stems from a number of beliefs. These range from the sense that discussion is pointless, because outsiders will neither listen nor understand anyway, to its being dangerous, because the outsider, once he realises what local native people really think or want, will carry out reprisals. In a series of 48 conversations about this matter, fear of reprisals was expressed by 16 Inuit, and ranged from a fear that Whites would go away altogether, so that there would no longer be guns and other vital equipment, to a fear that the army would be sent in and everyone be killed. This Commission of Inquiry has succeeded in hearing many and full opinions, but it is recognized as truly remarkable, perhaps unique, for just that reason: the native voice has tended to be muted if only because most native Northerners felt that they had no right, or did not dare, to speak their minds.

In my work on White-Eskimo and White-Indian relationships I repeatedly discovered these kinds of feelings about Whites. In the eastern Arctic they are widespread and were most widely generated, I suspect, during the fur and mission period. It is an appalling heritage from that time, and casts doubt upon the florescence or whatever excellence that era is supposed to have contained. The

archetype of the Eskimo we find in some ethnographies and much folklore may well be a product of the fur trade and mission period. Certainly, the few reliable accounts that do exist of the aboriginal, pre-contact Eskimo do not portray a quiet and self-effacing personality type. What took place, then, in the first decades of contact between White and Inuit, that gave rise to this ilira? By the 1930s, after some twenty years of comparatively persistent White presence in even the remoter parts of the eastern Arctic, fear of Whites had become an integral part of what is now broadly held to be traditional life.

2. Traders and Missionaries

The main events have been given often enough, but I wish to emphasize the nature of the first great change: the displacement of aboriginal culture by the first representatives of the South. Apart from explorers and whalers, these first representatives were persons intent upon changing the natives. They were traders, who wanted to turn subsistence hunters into trappers, and missionaries, who wanted to replace shamanistic religions with various forms of Christianity. In both of these endeavours, the newcomers were remarkably successful. There are some consequences of this success that deserve special mention.

In the first place, Northern natives became dependent on outsiders and, by the early part of this century, felt they could not survive without outsiders' provisions. This gave outsiders a power that was quite out of proportion to their number. Although there were many Whites in the North at that time who in fact needed the help of natives and were bound to acquire local skills, they nonetheless controlled Northern society - or were seen to do so. The authority of traditional leadership was profoundly weakened and, in places, destroyed. In many ways native society was decapitated. The power and influence of traders, missionaries, and policemen was noticed by many early observers of the Northern scene. It is worth recalling the words of Rasmussen, Stefansson, and Jenness - perhaps the greatest travellers in the Canadian North during the first decades of the twentieth century. All of them complained about the 'tin pot culture' of the trader (Rasmussen) and the dangerous irrationalities - as they saw them - of natives who were drawn into the Whites' religious and economic practices. Jenness wrote:

The new barter economy - furs in exchange for the goods of civilization - made life harder instead of easier, more complicated instead of more simple. The commercial world of the white man had caught the Eskimo in its mesh, destroyed their self-sufficiency and independence, and made them economically its slaves.

Other commentators on the Arctic noted similar phenomena for other regions. Helge Kleivan, the Danish anthropologist and historian, wrote of early relations between Whites and Eskimos in Labrador, and referred to the 'economic serfdom' that characterized dealings between Eskimos and the Hudson's Bay Company. And a study commissioned by the old Department of the Interior, published in 1927, referred to the situation in the southern Hudson's Bay area, where the relationship between natives and traders "would go far to break the spirit of the most independent", and where, in the judgement of the author, the people "have become the servants of the post instead of its patrons."

These writers offer a great contrast to those historians of the North who see the fur trade and mission era as one of 'florescence', or mutually agreeably contact between aboriginal and Euro-Canadian culture. There is, in Northern anthropology, a strong tendency to see that relationship as acculturation - which is to imply the voluntary adoption of some parts of another culture, and to understate the extent to which dependence and domination in fact determined the nature of cultural change. To put the point baldly: most Northern social groups were changed according to the wishes and ambitions of white outsiders, rather than by that gradual and selective process connoted by the term acculturation. Immense obstacles

were placed in the way of any who might have preferred to retain their own core religious and economic practices. Moreover, they were placed there by individual Whites whose power in situ often amounted to that of life and death. Traders could, and at times did, withhold credit from hunters who were held to be unco-operative - and no credit could mean death; policemen arrested 'wrong-doers' and even sent them to gaols in the South, from which they sometimes never returned. And behind this local, individual power was that of the South as a whole, the enormity of which was glimpsed occasionally - when a ship arrived, a plane flew overhead, a law court with judge and jury was established on some remote beach. The individual Whites were powerful for what they did, for the goods they dispensed, and for all they represented. These irresistible, life-transforming powers established themselves during the trade and mission era, between about 1915 and 1930. Their enormous impact on the social psychology of native peoples is still much in evidence today.

The benefits of the fur trade period are usually expressed in terms of material culture and measurable economic prosperity. These seem considerable when contrasted with the relative simplicity and perhaps insecurity of aboriginal life. But the criteria by which such benefits are usually measured are those of Southern culture. Income and profits become measurable things only because of the

imposition of that culture: prior to native incorporation into a money or barter economy, standards of living were not amenable to the same kind of reckoning. Application of the new criteria therefore tend to be strongly self-justifying: persons engaged in trade can be said, by traders or others with a similar basis for judgement, to be 'better off' - but only because the native traders have adopted an economic system that secures 'better offness' of the kind Southerners can appreciate and measure.

Of course, native people themselves feel that they gained materially from the fur trade. The material culture of the fur trade did in fact become the basis of what is now regarded as traditional life - and that is the case throughout the Canadian North. But it is in the nature of material benefits that it is hard to imagine what it is like to be without them once one has become dependent upon them. And it is the dilemma of native peoples that increasing benefits raise greater and greater obstacles to the realisation of aboriginal social and economic aspirations - and the future becomes more and more difficult. The quality of life to which the fur trade gave rise is now being compared with the present-day quality of life - and even with all that is feared about the future. It is not surprising, then, that the fur trade, with its relatively effective use of land and some native skills, seems like a better time. It is certainly regarded as

the traditional way.

But these views must not be allowed to obscure the social-psychological realities, whether the views be expressed by white social scientists or apprehensive natives. The 'traditional way' now includes a way of feeling and thinking about Whites and the South - a way that is epitomized in the native use of the word ilira. These are all important clues to the kind of relationship that exists between natives and Whites, between the North and the South.

To this must be added some brief comments on the essentially unstable nature of the trapping economy over which traders and missionaries presided. In the eastern Arctic the Hudson's Bay Company had an effective monopoly trade after the 1930s, lasting until the establishment of co-ops and game management branches in the 1960s and '70s. This monopoly situation meant that prices could be fixed comparatively arbitrarily, with supply and demand operating only at a secondary and much reduced level. The white fox, upon which all trappers depended for the main part of their income, is famous for its cyclical population fluctuations, with peaks at approximately four- or five-year intervals. Between these peaks trapping returns fall to a very low level. The drastic fluctuations that occurred are illustrated by the white fox fur returns from

Southampton Island in the years 1957 to 1965:

year	number of furs (rounded figures)
1957	1750
1958	1200
1959	250
1960	6400
1961	1800
1962	400
1963	2100
1964	4100
1965	900
1966	700
1967	1500

Within eleven years, then, the number of foxes taken in that area varied by a factor of 26. Indeed, the most dramatic jump was in successive years (1959-60), which is a typical feature of the fox population cycle. Fluctuations of this kind inevitably introduced a great degree of uncertainty into Inuit economic life, in so far as that economy was tied to trapping and traders. It also gave the trader an immense amount of discretionary power: virtually every trapper would experience years of considerable relative hardship, and would therefore from time to time be in sore need of credit. Economic instability and the power of traders thus reinforced one another. Inuit became dependent on an uncertain resource and on strange Whites who dispensed essential goods; it is not hard to understand some part of the link between feelings of ilira and the fur trade period.

It should be evident that the relationship between Inuit and Whites during that period is not properly characterized by acculturationist models, or by suggestions of a florescence of native culture. If we are to understand the course of Northern history and the sociology of native society, then it is vital to grasp the extent to which domination and control have formed the social, intellectual, and moral quality of present-day native life.

3. Continuity in Northern History

The sociological implications of this domination are many, and include various forms of withdrawal and retreatism. These are well-documented phenomena and have distinct pathologies. Retreatism is the disposition of those who feel they have lost control over some aspects of their lives: the more aspects in question, the more extreme the retreatism. I pursue this whole matter in my evidence on the alcohol problem and other pathologies, and for the purposes of this overview I want to emphasize the links between the history of the North and the social-psychological matters that are of continuing relevance.

I say continuing, because the kinds of change that have taken place since government and industry entered the Northern scene, in many important respects, are of the same nature as those that occurred earlier. The colonial process, by which native peoples are persuaded to adopt

the colonialists' economic, religious, and ideological forms, has an obvious continuity. The institutions or individuals who represent the dominant society may change. But the overall shape of change, that the dominated themselves experience, remains very much the same. This continuity can be seen as the process whereby people are separated from their own culture and resources. The shamanistic hunter is urged to be a Christian trader who participates in a market and money economy; is urged to live in a two bedroom house with a number, in a village or town; and to dress in the clothes and speak the language and adopt the social habits of the larger, dominant society; and to have the schooling and do the kind of work characteristic of members of the other society. In the end the shamanistic, semi-nomadic hunter is a wage labourer with an address.

The trader, missionary, and policeman may begin the process; it is continued by government officials, teachers, and representatives of industrial corporations. Sociologists may argue among themselves about the extent to which the colonialized are pushed rather than pulled along this route, but the route itself is fairly clear. The suggestion that in the North the appearance of government and industry somehow began a totally new era is misleading, for it obscures the degree to which there has been continuity, and understates the extent to which native

identity is still based on the land and land-associated skills.

If continuity is not recognized, then policy-makers will be misled into supposing that Northern natives no longer want the kinds of things they regard as traditional. As a result, relations between those who make policies and those who feel them will spiral downwards, bedevilled by misunderstanding and ever stronger feelings, among the administered, of being disregarded. I suspect that many persons in the North and South have been astonished by the quality of native statements at some of the community hearings arranged by this Commission. This astonishment is, of course, a measure of how we may have come to believe that some radical change occurred between the fur and mission time and the present. Armed with such a belief we can be led into expecting native Canadians to want the things we want, or that we think they ought to want. We can also easily be led into believing that the land and land-based activities have lost most, if not all, of their importance.

If, however, we focus carefully on the continuity in native-white relations and native aspirations since the early part of this century, I am convinced that three significant gains will result. - (1) We will remain close to the social-psychological realities of native peoples themselves; (2) we will recognize the degree to which

these realities are generally applicable throughout the relevant cultures; and (3) we will be in a much improved position for making recommendations and predictions.

The government plus industry phase of White presence in the North inherited native attitudes to Whites and to the South. The education, housing, local government, and other 'development' programmes of the present phase were introduced with the same rationale as the trader and missionaries had introduced their wants and wishes: the native would be better off. And native peoples accepted the programmes even if they could not accept the rationale: they did what Whites wanted them to do. And in so doing, the social-psychological impact of development persisted: there continued to be domination, dependence, and renewed demands on native cultural identity.

I return to the question of identity in the second of these papers. For the purposes of the argument here, it is worth looking more closely at the value of individual activity in the North, most particularly at some of the ways in which the North as a frontier exercises an influence on the kinds of impact that are occurring.

4. The Frontier

Frontiers attract the get-rich-quickers at every level; they encourage - indeed, depend upon - a footloose work force, mobile capital, and all their ideological

concomitants. It is not any particular place that matters, but the profitability of an area in general; attachments are to reward, not to place, people, or community.

Individualism, uncertainty, and instability are part and parcel of the social and moral qualities of the frontier. Frontierism exaggerates and worsens the processes whereby traditional social controls are broken down, and aggressive, deviant, individuated, and more pathological kinds of behaviour become everyday features of life.

The frontier, both as a matter of economic fact and as part of a national spirit, has always been important in North America, and is especially important in Canada. It has its representatives throughout the country who, if they do not themselves go to the bush, at least encourage or even idealize those who do. Native peoples who live at the frontier are encouraged to participate in frontierism, and are urged to accept the attitudes and life styles that go along with frontier activities. These attitudes and life styles are radically different to those embedded in native tradition and a small, permanent community. The community life of native peoples emphasizes sharing, collaboration, responsibility between generations and among the member households constituting an extended family. The native community has deep traditions, and a profound sense of permanence. The place is more important than mere economic incentive. Despite half a century of gradual

incorporation into Southern lifeways, native people of the Canadian North have shown a remarkable reluctance to move South - it is, in their terms, preferable to be poor at home, in family, community, and land that is familiar - whatever the supposed material or social advancement that might come with migration to the South. Yet the frontier - which is often said to hold within its development, within its advancement further and further North, great opportunities for native people - presents forms of economic and social life that are directly antagonistic to those that native peoples have shown they for the most part want to have as their own.

It is in this way that the frontier ethic is especially disruptive to native people. The representatives who come most directly into everyday contact with natives are migrant white workers and petty-entrepreneurs. These men live in the wake of large industrial enterprises, following wherever high wages or decent profits create attractive economic possibilities. They are extrovert, free-wheeling types, whose own homes and families have been left behind, forgotten. They are tied to no-one, and look out for themselves. They are sociable, like to drink, and occupy a moral niche that is suspect even to many Southerners and is far indeed from that occupied by natives who are trying to defend themselves, their communities, and their land against Southern intrusions that they

believe could well undermine their natural and social world.

The great contrast between the Whites who move towards the frontiers and the native peoples who live there is evidenced by the way they tend to regard one another. In the language of contemporary anthropology, the frontier is at the border between nature and culture. Nature is the world beyond the kingdom of western society (beyond, that is to say, our own society); culture is what we have constructed. A generation ago that line was regarded as the divide between the civilized and the uncivilized. This line is deeply embedded in virtually all our ideas about society and progress. We regard the move from nature into culture, from beyond the frontier to within it as progress. This applies to land as well as to people: economic progress is made when nature is transformed into resources, while social progress is made when the primitive are drawn into civilisation. Policy-makers in the South and migrant workers in the North share this basic premise, which leads them to a particular view of native people and to particular judgements about how they can be 'helped'.

According to this view, the native person is at the very edge of, or just beyond, the world of culture. In so far as he is beyond the frontier and stays outside the economy and society that the frontier is seeking to advance, he remains a part of nature - in the familiar

cliché, a child of nature. Peoples in that condition do not know what is best for them (they cannot understand progress) and can only learn by acquiring religion, schooling, housing, money, modern conveniences, jobs. This picture of the native beyond culture, beyond the frontier, suggests that he has no real religion, no effective schooling, no proper houses, still less conveniences, money, or jobs. As these are supposed to be the very hallmarks of culture, of civilization, and as they are the indices by which we measure progress, then if people do not have them, and do not get them, they cannot progress, while any addition to the amount they already have constitutes more progress. Hence development can bring much that is good, much that represents our idea of progress.

Those who subscribe to such views (and often such views remain well concealed) are in effect incapable of regarding native peoples as real people. The natives themselves are quite sure that they have and always have had all that was necessary for culture. And they see the loss of the overt forms of their culture as the very opposite of progress. Older Inuit often admit that they regard many of the Whites' ways as uncultured, as childlike. They are amazed by our quickness to be angry, by our violence and apparent indifference to one another's well-being, by our weak family ties and extravagant regard for money,

and by our inability to understand the rules governing use and respect for land. Yet they are aware of the great power that Whites have over everything that concerns the future of the North, and, as we have seen, they are dependent on things that come from the South. They are also persuaded that Christianity is a better religion than the shamanism it displaced, and many have come to believe in the importance of fossil fuels, modern housing, and some basic schooling. They also feel the need for the Whites' medical services. The ambiguity of their position means that native peoples are not able - or do not often feel able - to present their own case and very rarely oppose the way in which the frontier mentality affects them.

When Whites insist that the best thing for the Inuit is industrial advance, the Inuit are inclined to agree. Since those who concern themselves with the frontier have always encouraged native people to be modern, Inuit do not think that Whites are able to offer the kinds of things that Inuit really care about. As a result, when white officials ask what they, the Southerners, can do to help, Inuit have tended to answer by asking for the kinds of things that Southerners usually seem able to do: provide more money, more houses, and more jobs. Few Inuit believe that any other things are possible. This means that Whites receive confirmation for their views of progress, and are lured into believing that these views

are shared by Inuit. In fact, of course, we get self-confirmation: we are told what Inuit think we want to hear, and what they think it is worth telling us. It follows that relations between Whites and natives at the frontier are confounded by systematic misunderstanding. It also follows that Whites, especially those with authority and local power, can only rarely discover what Inuit do want. This means that even the most well-meaning Southerners and Southern governments are likely to make decisions about Northern programmes and development that continue to aggravate problems that have persisted in the North for fifty years.

5. Prospects for the Future

Despite quite high levels of federal spending on research into Northern peoples, and a long series of publications dealing with aspects of Northern native society and economy, remarkably few documents deal specifically with native aspirations and preferences. Despite close attention to aspects of traditional culture, and the more intimate scrutiny of native lifeways than natives have always found acceptable, there exists no systematic account of what native adults want by way of an economic or social order. Between 1971 and 1973, however, with the help of two field assistants, I carried out, under the auspices of the Northern Science Research Group, over 150 non-directional interviews in communities of the eastern Arctic with a

view to establishing how the White and native populations regarded their own and the other's predicaments. The interviews included persons of each main social and generational group. What emerged from them, inter alia, was a remarkably clear convergence of opinion around three issues. Firstly, Inuit of all ages identified themselves with their lands, and regarded the ongoing use of land as central to their identity. Secondly, a majority of men wanted to spend an important part of their time on the land, engaged in hunting, fishing, and trapping. Among these men were those who had only recently returned from education in Churchill or other schools and those who, on the evidence of appearance and material culture, would be regarded as most modernized or acculturated. Thirdly, virtually everyone, including the elderly, regarded land-use in quite modern terms: they considered a good hunter as one who could make use of a snowmobile, high-quality rifles, and other recent technological developments.

Out of these interviews emerged a picture of Inuit of that region, and, most importantly, of their aspirations. They were, it transpired, prepared to accept the 'necessity' of mines, oil exploration, and other features of the frontier; they were even prepared to acquiesce quietly in the destruction of their land. Many persons said that nothing mattered so long as the Whites did not decide to destroy the people. But all these things were

not the things that the majority actually wanted. Indeed, they were often the opposite. Most wanted a way of life that maintained the possibility of extensive hunting, extensive use of local renewable resources, and real security. I was told again and again, in a multitude of different ways, that the preservation of a life based on the use of local resources conflicted strongly with the attainment of security, and that, in the end, security was the most important thing, for it meant life itself. It seemed that many Inuit had been given to understand that the hunting and trapping life was simply impossible, or could only be bought, in so residual a form as to be hardly more than symbolic, at the price of ever more participation in and dependence upon a life that, if my own researches are to be trusted, they did not so much desire as accept. And, if you accept a thing as necessary, you are inclined to say that you want it - or, more logically, that you do not want its absence.

> In 1974-75 I worked on the Inuit Land Use and Occupance Project. My final contribution to that Project was the Land Occupancy document, which seeks to elucidate what it means to be an Eskimo, both in the past and the present. To this end, discussions were held in every Eskimo community in the NWT. The final text of the document is edited from over 800 pages of transcripts of these discussions, and follows the themes that Inuit wished to

pursue. I would like to refer this Inquiry to that document, for it confirmed that my 1971-73 findings for one region are true for the NWT as a whole. It is that document that gives me the firm basis from which to make generalizations that will be both valid and have wide application.

Given the kinds of irreversible change that have already taken place, and the ways in which native persons have adopted aspects of Euro-Canadian culture, it can perhaps best be said that they now want the possibility of a mixed economic system. In many respects, that is the kind of economy that has evolved from the fur trade. Its weakness is a result of the imbalance between the elements in the mixture: the wage-labour component is becoming by far the strongest and most compelling option, largely as a result of the weakening of other options. This weakening is a consequence of government policies as much as of trends in the supply and demand for commodities on international markets. If the kinds of things that native people now want are taken seriously, then such industrial development that does take place at the new frontier will be carefully moderated. Only if it is thus moderated can the pernicious effects of large-scale, rapid development be mitigated.

What does this kind of moderation really mean in social and economic terms? A rudimentary 'shopping-list'

that begins to answer that question must include the following items.

- (1) A mixed economic system, in which renewable resource harvesting plays a prominent part.
- (2) Development of non-renewable resource activities at a pace and in ways that allows native input and effective monitoring of how it will affect the local traditional resource base.
- (3) Avoidance of institutional reaffirmation of feelings and attitudes towards Whites characterized by the term ilira and its equivalents. This means that all stages must be slow, and participation made real with the advantage of time and caution.
- (4) Clarification of the land rights issue in order to provide security into the future. Apprehension about the future is a part of everyday social life in Northern settlements, and its aggravation is - from a social-psychological point of view - highly dangerous.
- (5) Investment in the industrial frontier must be paralleled by investment in what we might call the native or traditional sector. In this way the tendency for whole communities

to be engulfed by even comparatively small-scale developments, and for manpower to be pushed en bloc into the non-renewable sector, can be mitigated.

There are, in effect, three possible courses the future could take. Development without attention to local culture and renewable resources - with resultant maximum disruption and eventual pathological disarray of native life. In many ways - as this overview has tried to show - the past forty years of North-South relations have prepared the ground for such a course, and it would, unfortunately, represent continuity in Northern history if only because it would mean the continuing domination of Northern native society by Southern interests. The second possibility is development with careful attention to programmes and land that would moderate and restrict impact. To this end we would try to solidify in a culturally acceptable way - in a safe way - the basis of native society and economy. The third alternative - no development at all - requires the kinds of programmes that are suggested by the second alternative. Indeed, it may happen that, after the initial preparatory phases of a pipeline or similar project, some native communities would be left effectively without development. That was just what occurred in Rankin Inlet after the closure of the mine there. If the alternative way of life, which at present is important

to so many native persons' idea of themselves and their communities' security, be properly developed, then the coming and going, the booming and busting at the frontier could come and go or never quite take place, without having such a dangerous and destabilizing social and economic impact on native life.

If the eastern Arctic can stand as an analogue to what may happen here in the West, then we can be fairly sure that a significant number of native persons will definitely want to take their place at the frontier and be workers alongside those who come as workers from the South. But we can be equally sure that a majority of natives will want to preserve their community life, native skills, and lands against the worst kinds of possible impact. If there is a lesson from white-native dealings on this continent, it is that native aspirations have virtually never been taken seriously, and the consequences of that include problems and suffering that bedevil future generations on both sides. Colonialism deforms all who are party to it, the colonialized and colonialists alike. We should not forget that the Canadian North is, from an economic and social point of view, a classic case of internal colonialism. Its history has taken that shape, and its representatives in the North have already acted out the opening scenes of a familiar tragedy.

It is very unfashionable for social scientists to make confident predictions, and it is also somewhat de rigueur to avoid ponderous alarmism. I would feel less than honest, however, if I were to act in either of these matters as I am told I should. My work has made me very alarmed; a review of Canadian Northern history confirms that sense of alarm - there seem to be dangerous trends that have persisted for more than a generation. And, on the basis of work in a variety of communities, in places experiencing different stages of the process, I will not shrink from predictions. The more precise predictions figure in my other submissions to this Inquiry, but a general one must be made here. If the North continues to be a frontier in the full sense, and the values of frontierism dominate its progress, with individualistic, unmoderated seizure of its ores and oils, then native communities will be damaged, possibly beyond repair. The native Northerner will not disappear in such a situation; there will not take place a more or less painful assimilation. On the contrary, the North will become, like other frontiers within colonial settings, the home of demoralized, confused, and increasingly angry peoples who believe that, since Whites first ever came to their land, they have been oppressed and weakened. The social and economic impact of unmoderated large-scale development would, in retrospect, be seen to have made a very large contribution to that

STEEVES

SUBMISSION OF

Donald Bruce

TO THE BERGER INQUIRY

Received Sept 16th

11714

Presented on behalf of COPE
Yellowknife, N.W.T.
September, 1976.

Part of Donner
Steeves

"The effects of alcohol, its distribution and the extent of its use can leave one in no doubt that alcohol is, and is likely to remain, Canada's most serious non-medical drug use problem."

I have come here today hopefully to have an intelligent discussion but primarily to say that I do not wish to be an expert for in my view, there are none. I bring to this Inquiry nothing absolute, no magic, but simply some experience gathered in many places; more particularly, that which I've learned from the people who live here and whose lives are affected by every nuance of change whether environmental or social.

First I'd like to point that the essential evidence as to what constitutes alcoholism, how one becomes one, the medical/pharmacological or the psychological aspects are best described in the Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs, therefore I wish not to readdress these issues. Specific attention is paid to these matters beginning on page 386 of the copy I've provided, while other related topics which may be of special interest may be found throughout this authoritative text. Further, to place the nature and extent of the problems associated with alcohol misuse within the Canadian perspective I would direct your attention to the second document, Alcohol Problems in Canada a summary of current knowledge. This document compiled on behalf of a cooperative Federal-Provincial working group may be helpful in connecting some if not all of varied evidence with respect to alcohol and its effects throughout the social fabric of our societies.

To my knowledge this subject is by far one of the most difficult to grasp, being further confused by a constant shifting from subjective to objective data, wrapped in the moment of emotion.

INDICATOR OF PROBLEMS

The per capita consumption of an area serves as an indicator and is a singular view from which we may begin to examine a Pattern of Behaviour. I have included the following graph with caution, as the current (76) census evidence is not available. A second caution is that, generally speaking, the collection of data and its' interpretation is rife with problems in itself. I am, therefore, presenting the data to help outline the state of the art so to speak and to serve as a point from which we may have an intelligent discussion.

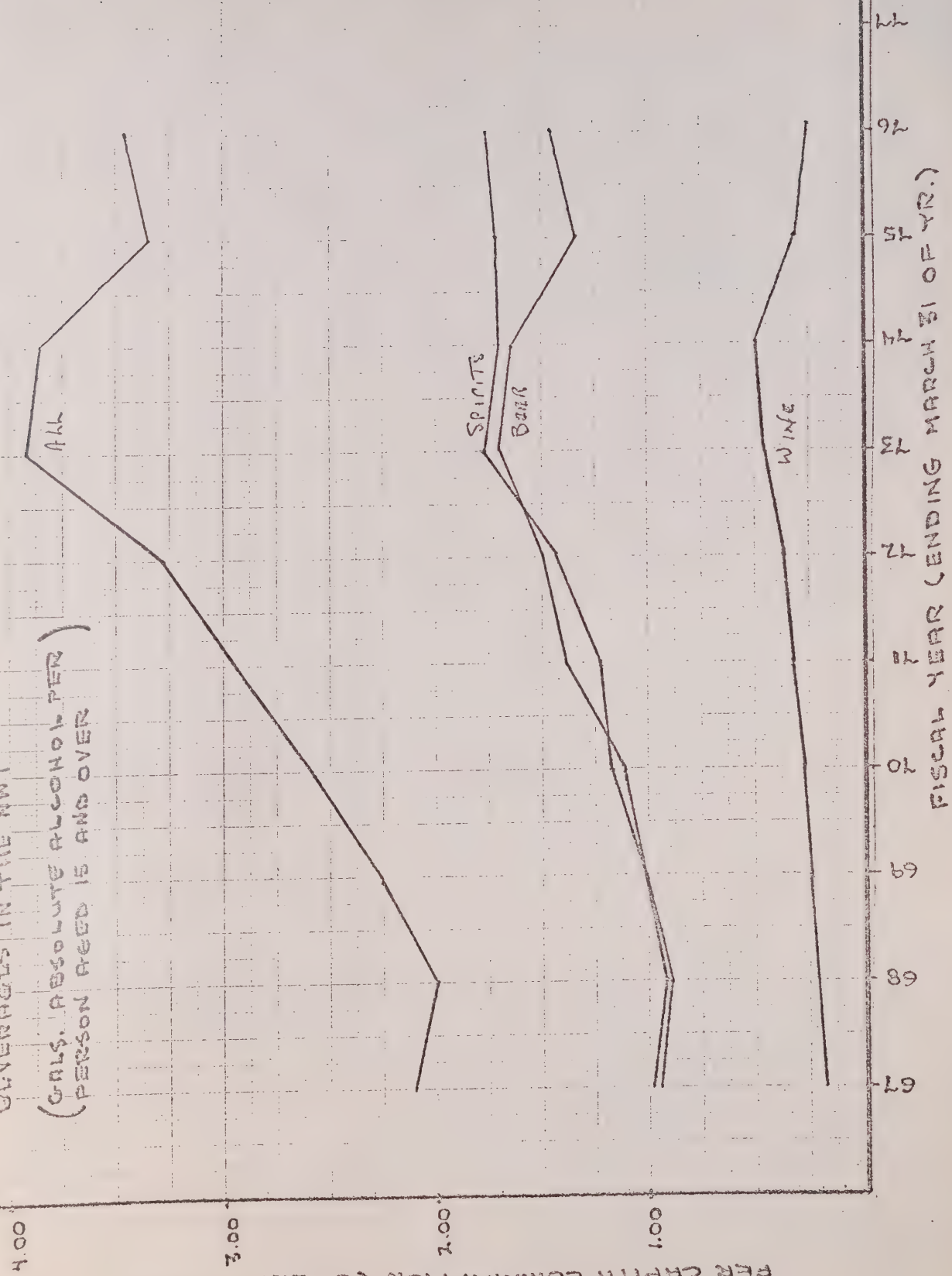
Per capita consumption measurements are utilized as a barometer of trends and as a reasonable measure from which Social Policy can be evaluated. An example could be an examination of pricing levels and their effect on consumption patterns. As mentioned, this method is a generalized approach 'not without its problems' but does in fact reflect an idea of the amount of alcohol consumed throughout the population base fifteen years and older.

The trend indicated within the graph of rising consumption from 1968 to 1973 is, of course, corroborated by sales of alcohol of products both by value and volume.

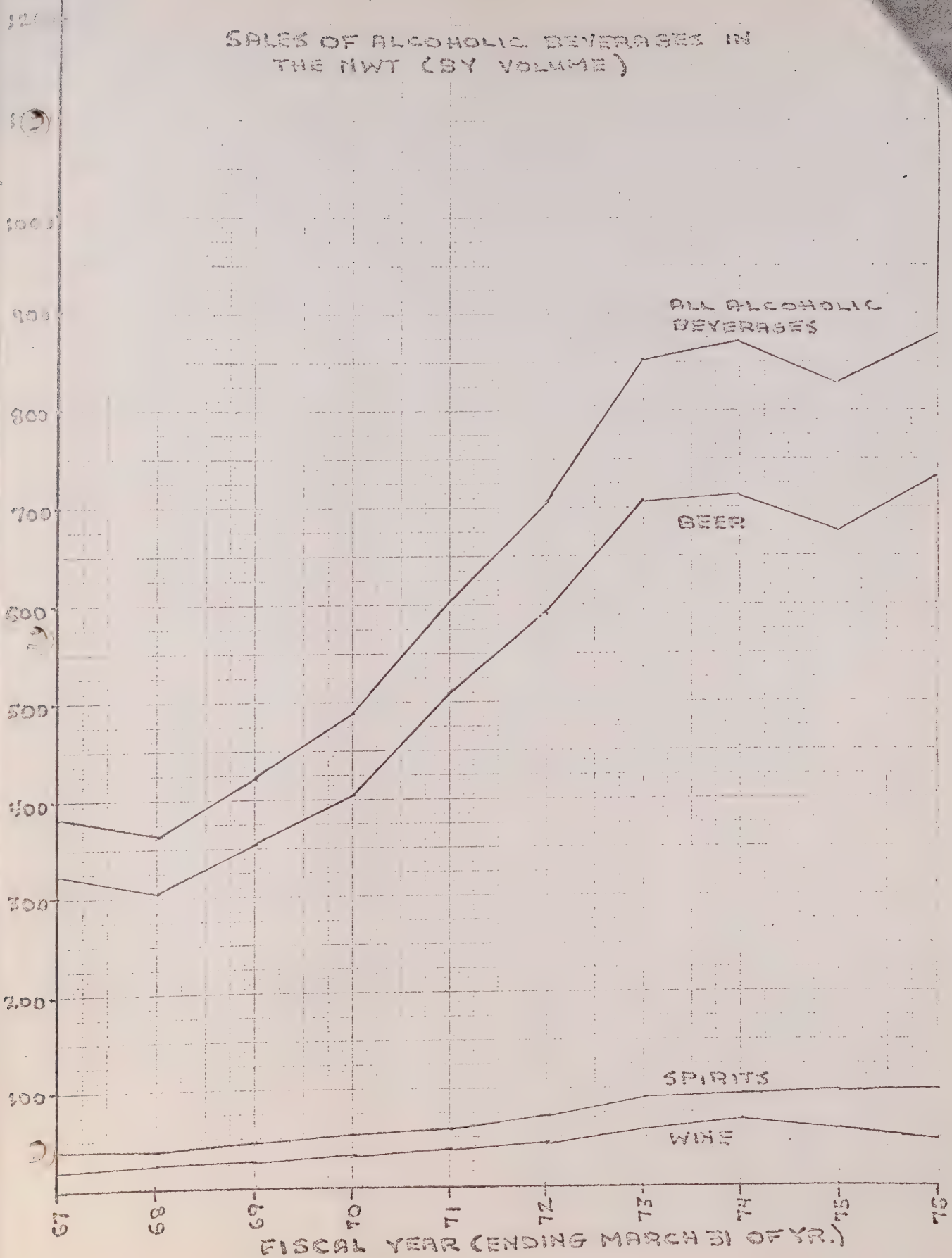
While many criticisms are evident in utilizing this manner in describing consumption of alcohol products it nevertheless is a reasonably accurate way in which to begin.

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION (GALLONS ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL)

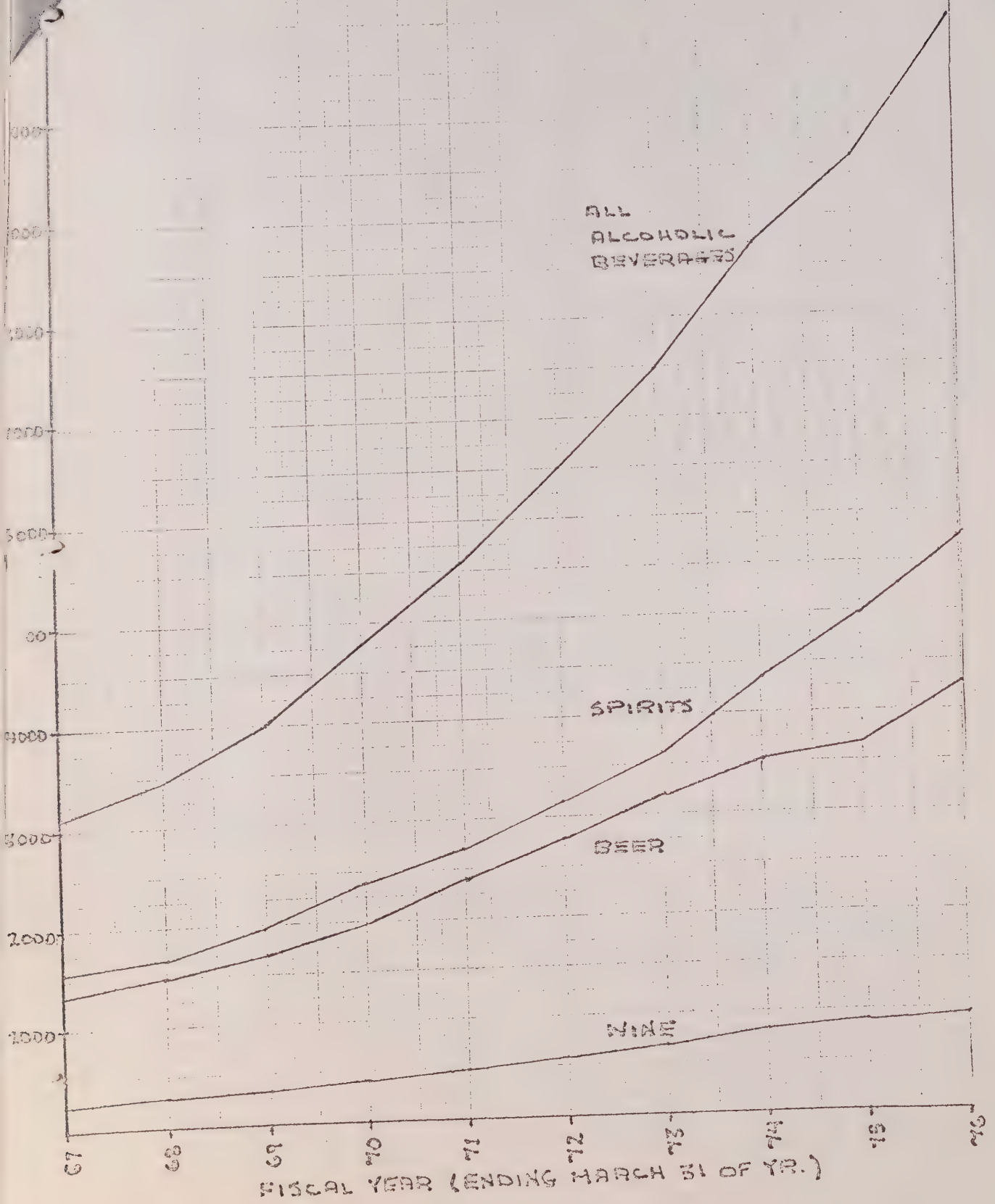
PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN THE NWT
(GALS. ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL PER PERSON AGED 15 AND OVER)



SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN THE NWT (BY VOLUME)



SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN THE NWT (BY VALUE)



Specifically for the fiscal period of ending March, 1976, 877 thousand gallons of alcohol were sold at a value of nearly 11 million dollars. This represents a measure of 86,810 gallons of absolute alcohol (pure alcohol) divided by the population 15 years and over or roughly 3.40 gallons alcohol per person (15+). Specific proportions are as follows:-

99,000 gallons spirits	=	44,550 gallons of absolute alcohol				
48,000 gallons wines	=	5,760	"	"	"	"
730,000 gallons beer	=	36,500	"	"	"	"

While these calculations are somewhat speculative, I do not expect appreciative change when the results of Census '76 are finally reported.

DISCUSSION

The per capita consumption data indicate the N.W.T. is second highest in Canada to the Yukon. In relation to Canada it is approximately 1 gallon of absolute alcohol over the national rate.

The trend toward increased per capita consumption as evidenced 68 - 73 has apparently abated, in fact, there appears to be a significant decrease begun in 74 and is continuing.

Speculation as to the reasons for the decrease are inconclusive. However, I might attribute this to several events/changes which began during the decreasing period.

The first is the changing perspective of original northern peoples. This attitude of awareness and determination can be correlated to the rise of political expression, increased communication, and a willingness to examine their life style

in the face of real and threatened incursions by Governments and their Institutions. In my view, real and imagined polarization precipitated a healthy response. While there are many dangers involved in putting forth this argument, I can say that the developing stewardship of native organizations has created positive role models which compete with and replace southern stereo types. The process of psychological and actual demoralization which began initially with the arrival of traders is reversing. The net result is positive and must continue.

The concept of prevention of alcohol problems in the N.W.T. has taken a more active role in the overall. The expression of just plain 'fed-up-ness' by the people of the N.W.T. has determined several changes in policy and a more democratic process in determining the availability of alcohol. Recent legislative change on local option and the closing of the liquor outlet in Frobisher Bay at the demand of the people are prime examples.

The question of whether official government policy/programs had any effect is moot. I do not think that we had any significant input into the result except to support the intervention by the people themselves.

PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGH CONSUMPTION LEVELS

This is the area in which the majority of understanding breaks down, first as the problems are defined, and as they attributed to specific acts. I have attempted to be clear

about per capita consumption as an indicator of trends; I cannot be as clear in the problem area because the logic of cause-effect cannot sustain challenge. Nevertheless, certain problem areas are connected to the act of drinking as a consequence, most of which are indicators of activity and not necessarily absolute in their effect. The reason for this is that human behaviour is not entirely predictable. Therefore, statistical evidence in this field must be accepted as speculative and not necessarily conclusive of cause-effect.

1. CRIME

An increasing body of evidence is emerging that there is a significant (high) relationship between the incidence (occurrences) of crime and drink. Perhaps the best description of this relationship is contained in the Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs (page 402, Alcohol and Crime):

"Of all drugs used medically or non-medically, alcohol has the strongest and most consistent relationship to crime. In addition to over two and one-half million convictions for offences directly related to alcohol in Canada every year (including drunkenness offences; violations of the liquor control laws, such as operating stills, illegal importation and sales, and drunken and impaired driving) many other crimes are also related to alcohol use.

Alcohol use is frequently correlated with certain crimes in the chronic drunkenness offender or skidrow alcoholic. Most of the offences committed by such persons are

typically minor non-drug offences (such as vagrancy, trespassing and pan-handling) which are often related to their lack of funds for food, shelter or more alcohol. Petty theft is an occasional charge, and it has been suggested that in order to break into jail temporarily for food and shelter, some individuals may commit some minor disturbance or crime against property.

There is an abundance of evidence relating alcohol use to more serious crimes. Homicide is strongly correlated with alcohol use. In one frequently cited study in Philadelphia, alcohol was present in either the offender or the victim in 64% of the homicides over a five-year period. In 70% of the alcohol-related cases, alcohol was present in both the offender and the victim, while in only 17% and 14% of the cases had only the offender or the victim respectively been drinking. Murders were committed by stabbing, kicking, or beating by fists or with a blunt instrument in 70% of the cases, suggesting that serious alcohol-involved crimes tend to be unpremeditated, physical assault. A study of coroners' cases in Victoria found that out of 41 murder victims tested for alcohol, 19 had a blood alcohol level of over 0.15%. A Canadian study of ex-prisoners concluded that an abnormally high proportion had committed crimes against property. Excessive drinkers also had a higher proportion of sex crimes. A strong relationship between alcohol use and sex crimes such as rape and incest has been demonstrated in many other studies around the world.

Persons with alcohol problems constitute a considerable

proportion of people imprisoned in Canada for serious offences. Of a total of 4,057 males who were committed to penitentiaries for such offences in 1969, 1,053 (20%) were judged to be problem drinkers and 360 (9%) were alcoholics, making a total of 29% of the admitted male inmates with serious identified drinking problems. Of some selected crimes, alcoholics and problem drinkers were involved in 33% of the murders, 38% of attempted murders, 54% of manslaughters,

39% of rapes, 42% of other sexual offences, and 61% of assaults. Of female admission for serious crimes, 16 (22% out of a total of 72) were judged to be problem drinkers."

N.W.T. PRELIMINARY CRIME STATISTICS 1974*

1. Crimes of Violence (Total)	7.97 x National Rate
Murder	8.79 x National Rate
Attempted Murder	3.43 x National Rate
Rape	6.74 x National Rate
Wounding	7.20 x National Rate
Assaults	9.88 x National Rate
2. Property Crimes	1.93 x National Rate
Theft under \$200.00	1.9 x National Rate
3. Other Crimes	3.6 x National Rate
Offensive Weapons	6.88 x National Rate
4. Provincial Statutes (Territorial Ordinances)	13.98 x National Rate
5. Driving while impaired	2.61 x National Rate
Failure or refusal to provide breath sample	1.67 x National Rate

* Statistics Canada

In addition to these statistics, police authorities retained overnight in 1974 under Section 80 of the N.W.T. Liquor Ordinance, a total of 6,398 in local lockups throughout the N.W.T. (many of them repeaters). Further in 1974 there were 427 people in the correctional system, 349 of whom were jailed as a direct cause of an alcohol-related offense. Of course, not mentioned here is the number of unrecorded near crimes of neglected children, public nuisance and general anti-social behaviour for which a certain degree of tolerance or acceptance has been

sustained.

PUBLIC HEALTH

The contribution of alcohol to the general well being within the N.W.T. is questionable to say the least. Perhaps a point can be made that alcohol can be associated with all the major health problems due to the significant correlation of drinkers who statistically manage to comprise a very high proportion of clientele in all the major disease categories.

Moreover LeDain's comment that alcohol's contribution to a general demoralization or lowering of the tone and determination required for a healthy society is particularly appropriate to the N.W.T. In fact this statement is particularly significant when coupled to a government official's comment that "native peoples are children, have no culture and must be kept in line." This constant stereotyping does little to contribute to the dignity of people, nor does it contribute to positive mental health.

Statistical evidence in the area of public health systems in the N.W.T. is generally unavailable and what there is is unreliable. I would, however, direct your attention to "Alcohol Problems in Canada", which documents the data for Canada. I am certain that if such comprehensive data were available, a similar picture could be constructed for the N.W.T.

As mentioned, there is a host of health problems wherein alcohol has a strong correlation but perhaps the most significant for the N.W.T. are the problems associated with family disruption. In the N.W.T. alcohol is the most destructive contributor to the breakdown of family relationships. If we had systematically set out to destroy a society, we could not have done a better job. The results may be viewed in the number of

institutional responses to varying problems created as a consequence. The confusion in traditional roles and functions normally undertaken within family structures, which, of course, extended throughout tribal nations, has increased. The natural order has been destroyed, not only in the immediate, but more probably on a permanent basis due largely to our institutional intrusion. An extreme example is the apprehending and placing of neglected children --- the likelihood of them returning to their homes being slim. Throughout this process, the exact role of alcohol as to its cause and effect remains uncertain, although the wealth of apparent evidence suggests a strong linkage.

PREVENTION OF PROBLEMS

Historically the perspective of prevention surrounding the misuse of alcohol has taken two forms; that of legislative sanction and remedial activities. Within the last 20 years there have been efforts to educate and inform as a means of prevention. The vast majority of these efforts have failed in North American Society.

Each year we continue to create the environmental conditions to produce more and more chronic alcohol misuse, despite the many millions of dollars spent on remedial education programs.

In the context of legislation, the pendulum has swung from severe restrictions to the minimum of sanctions. Throughout history this has been the case, providing an interesting perspective on the nature of legislative prevention. Governments of Canada and the provinces have recognized the validity of utilizing the law to prevent problems, but have failed to intercede except in times of "national interest", or to suit their particular philosophy.

Within the N.W.T. preventive legislation suffers from similar trends of thought. Nevertheless, the government has at times recognized the problem and moved beyond the scope of existing legislation to create a remedial atmosphere. For example, the closing of the liquor outlet in Frobisher Bay and the removal of fortified wines.

Perhaps a comment here is appropriate regarding the vested interests involved in creating change in liquor legislation. Without alcohol freely available, the need for the majority of people services would be reduced substantially. This would be accompanied by the potential loss of profits in the private sector as well as some jobs. Such a measure might also be politically unpalatable. In addition to this, governments are major recipients of revenue derived from the sale of alcohol products.

Therefore, the need for adequate preventive legislation is counter-balanced not only by the normal checks and balances, but also by the various personal, institutional and political biases that are in existence. Success in preventing serious problems from continuing with the sale of alcohol is often overlooked in favour of the need for increased revenue, influence, status or, just plain growth.

Let me now turn to the government policy on alcohol pricing and its net effect on consumption patterns in the N.W.T. My basic understanding of economics is limited but I fail to comprehend why alcohol prices are equalized throughout the N.W.T. The price of a given alcohol product is "set" F.O.B. Hay River and markup and transportation are averaged throughout the system. To my knowledge no other commodity is treated in this manner. The net effect in my view is to give unfair special treatment to one commodity (alcohol) over the remainder. The problem, of course, is that alcohol is not a necessity. It is, in fact,

a dangerous drug and creates countless problems in every community. Further, I suspect that this policy is one of the contributing factors to the misuse of alcohol due to its effect of providing alcohol at cost in relation to basic food stuffs. Native leaders have questioned this pricing policy without result to date.

MACKENZIE VALLEY COMMUNITIES:

I am not prepared to discuss specific situations throughout the valley. Those who reside in communities are better equipped, have lived, in their situation and are more expert than I am. Furthermore, many people have provided testimony sufficient to demonstrate the present condition.

Generally, from the evidence gathered over the past four or five years, it appears that percapita consumption levels are decreasing specifically in the smaller communities. The single most glaring exception is the City of Yellowknife. While some appreciable increase in population accounts for part of the increases, it is apparent that Yellowknife is the major contributor to the rise in per capita alcohol consumption in the Territories.

A major shift has occurred in the communities in the valley where interest in solving rather than contributing to problems has occurred. In part, I believe, this Commission of Inquiry has positively contributed to this phenomenon in the outlying settlements. What part this Inquiry has played in Yellowknife, I will leave to the speculators!

A general comment would be that we often hear of the negative aspects of drinking and its associated behaviour throughout the communities; seldom do we hear of the more positive reac-

tions and of the constructive solutions beginning to take form and substance. Certainly, it can be said that every community has drinking problems and they can be categorized and listed according to the current trend of negative thought. Nevertheless, the problems are being addressed with some success by the people themselves within their own communities and within the limitations of their resources.

IMPLICATIONS OF MAJOR DEVELOPMENT:

To some degree there are innumerable difficulties associated with a satisfactory prognosis of pipeline development. Given my previous indications of a developing response to the solution of problems in the Mackenzie Valley, the intended pipeline would have a negative effect if sufficient protections were not available.

The first and foremost, of course, is an ethical response by the Government of Canada to the land claims of the Dene and to the Nunavut proposal --- one that all Canadians can rightly support. The resolution of these claims will determine the net effect throughout the Mackenzie Valley.

Secondly, the Dene and the Inuit have to determine their own philosophy and policy with respect to alcohol. This is an extremely important point as policy decisions are determined from the basic philosophy and I trust that the Dene and Inuit will capitalize on the error of all other governments in Canada.

Thirdly, the major contractors must act responsibly and with good faith in their handling of behavioural problems throughout their operations. At this point, it cannot be assumed that alcohol and behavioural problems generally will be resolved as a matter of course. Solutions must be planned and carried out

with determination. Examples of the lack of preparedness in the immediate area of the Alyeska Pipeline in Alaska include specifically the problems of enforcement (who performs the task and at whose cost) and increases in the need for special services, due to poor planning. While these problems may not appear to be the responsibility of the contractors directly, nevertheless, they are a direct consequence of the project. Population increases as a result of the activity of pipeline companies, sub-contractors and service industries are bound to happen. Therefore, the policies of the major contractors are of great importance.

Lastly, the Government of the Northwest Territories must re-examine their philosophy (with respect to the availability of alcohol) with the Dene and Inuit and come to some agreement with them as to policy. Again I cannot emphasize this point adequately. It is not sufficient to assume that alcohol misuse problems will resolve themselves concurrent with development or with the resolution of land claims.

The process of rebuilding a strong, self-determined society in the Mackenzie has begun. Major unplanned development, regardless of the time span will, I predict, have disastrous results. I would expect a return of the patterns of high consumption and subsequent behavioural problems. I would expect the destruction of many cultures, the over-running of a series of communities rampage of uncontrolled lawlessness far beyond anything previously seen in this region. While it may well be difficult to bend one's mind to this, Canadians must recognize two facts of our history; the first is that this country's first men came to this area with the express intent of exploiting native people for the furs they could barter for with liquor. The second is that native people did not ask for liquor and for this they have paid a terrible price. In my mind, these situations are not beyond us, as evidenced by a few of the

remarks expressed to this Commission of Inquiry.

THANK YOU.

SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES : OUTLET: CANNONWOOD CO.

SELLING PRICE

INCREASED:

10% Oct. 73

15% Jan. 75

4000

3000

2000

1000

0

SALES BY VALUE (000's of dollars)

4000

3000

2000

1000

0

SALES BY VOLUME (000's of gallons)

4000

3000

2000

1000

0

BEER

74

75

76

77

FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YR)

74

75

76

77

FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YR)

74

75

76

FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YR)

SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

OUTLET: ST. MARY'S

1970

SALES BY VOLUME (000'S OF GALLONS)

1000

2000

3000

4000

5000

BEER

74 75 76 77

FISCAL YEAR ENDING MARCH 31 OF YEAR

SELLING PRICE

100% INCREASED

10% Oct. 73

15% Jan. 75

1000

2000

3000

4000

5000

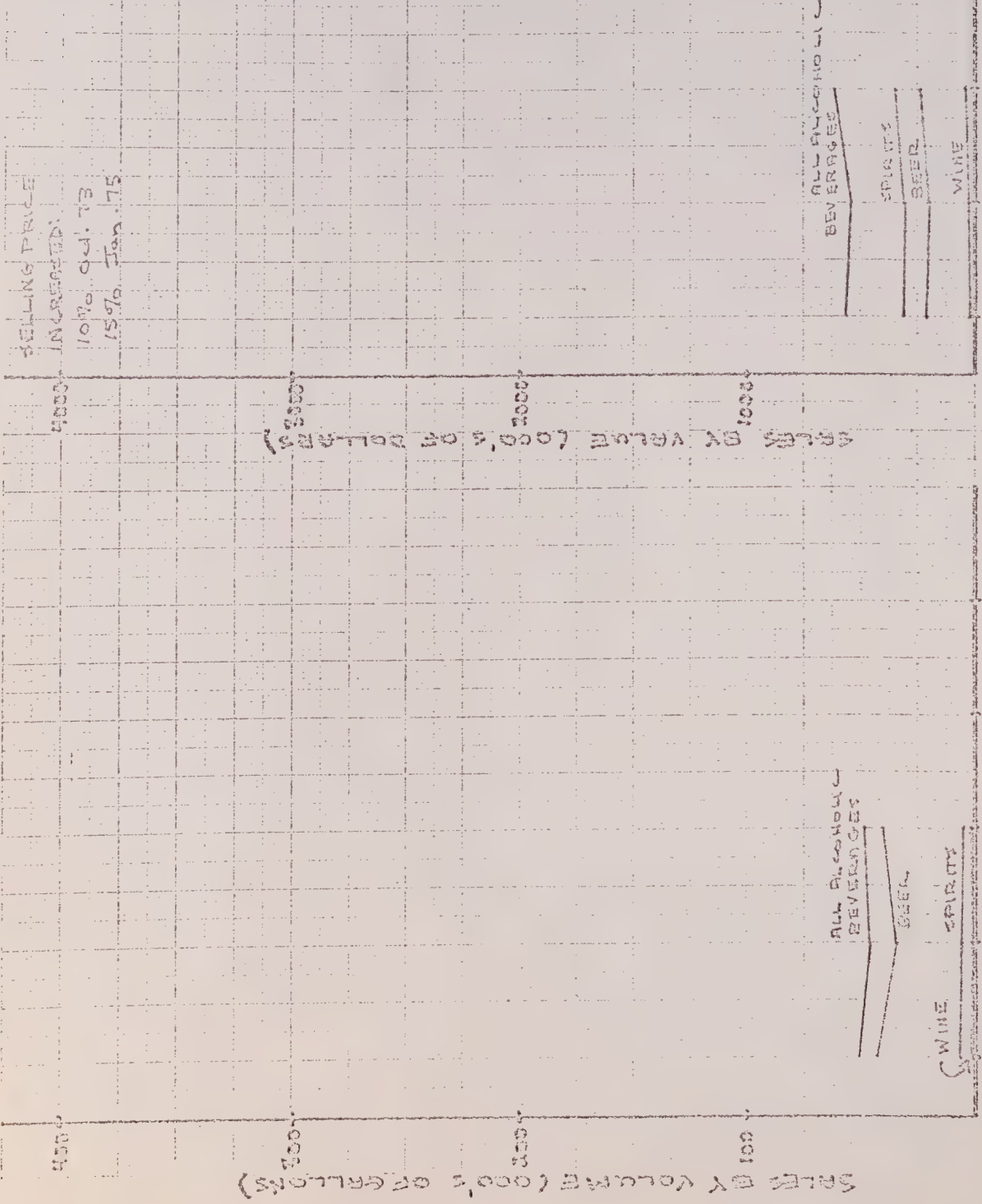
6000

BEER

74 75 76 77

FISCAL YEAR ENDING MARCH 31 OF YEAR

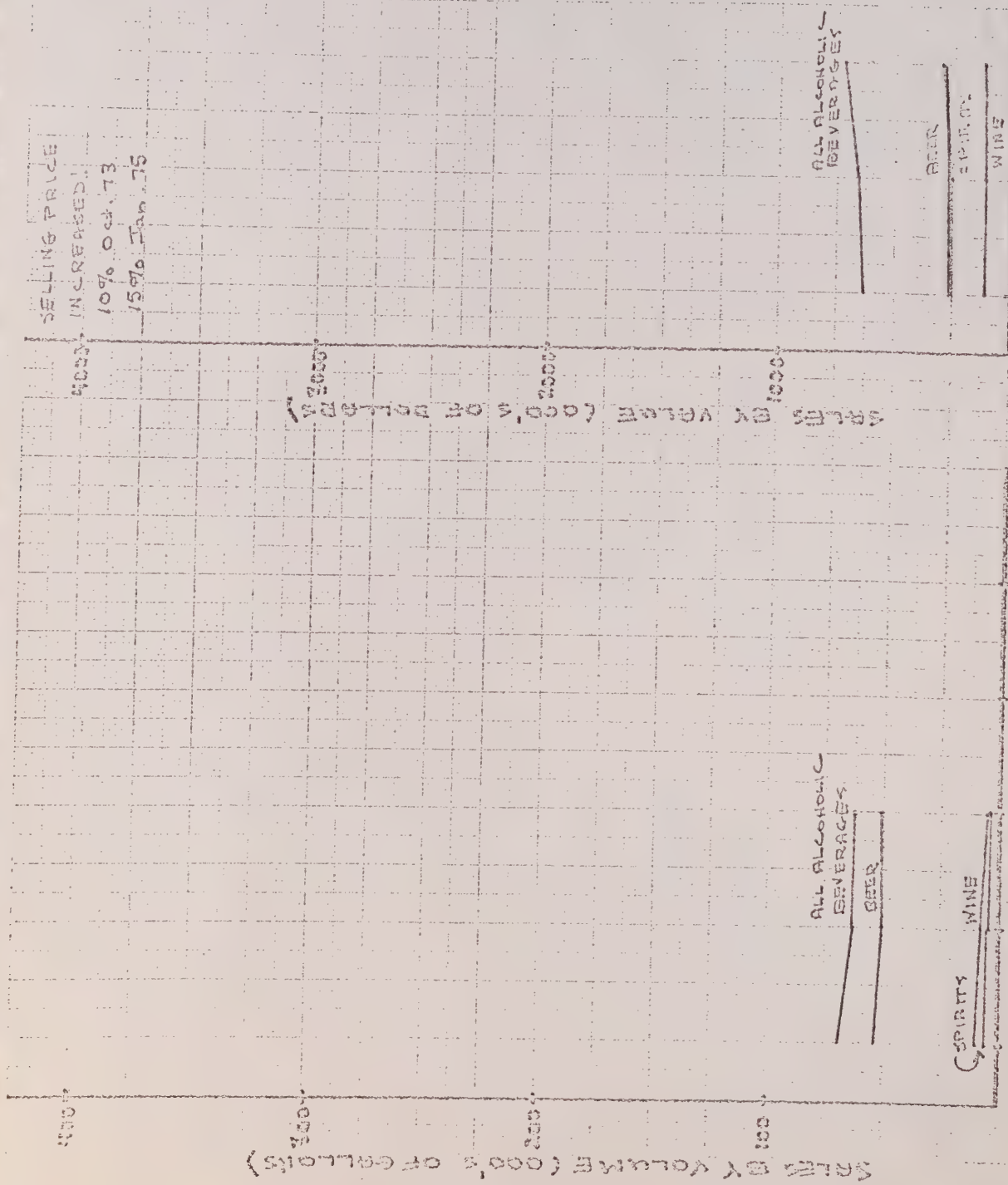
SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES : OUTLET: FORT SIMPSON



74 75 76
FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YR)

74 75 76
FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YR)

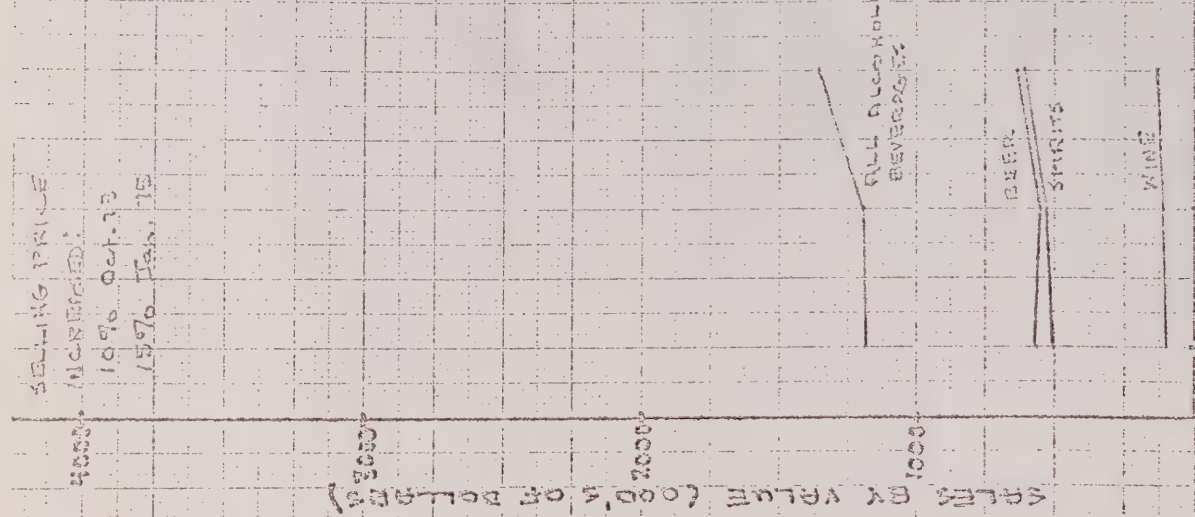
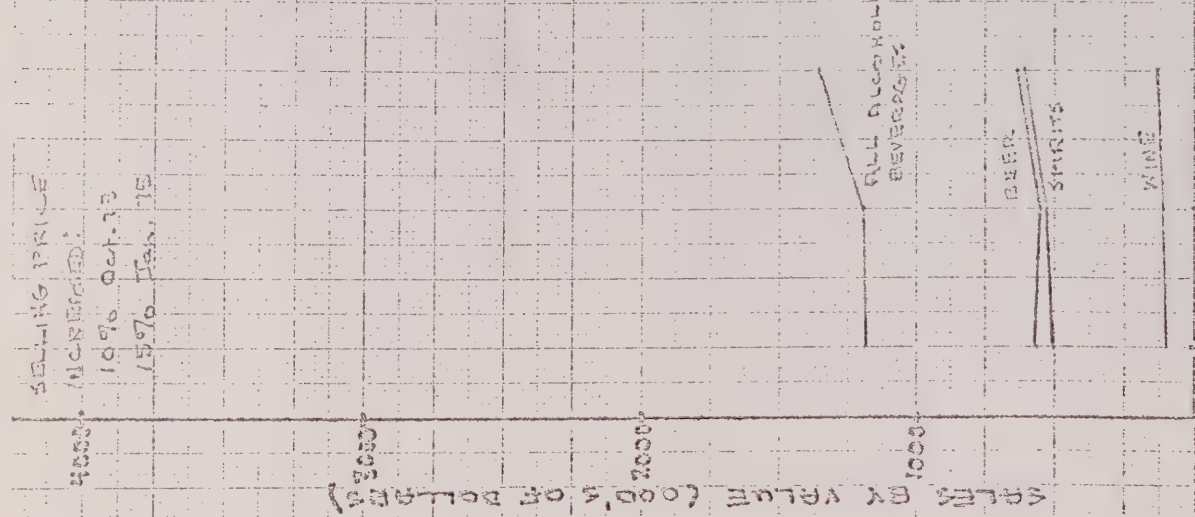
SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES - OUTLET: PORT SMITH



FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YEAR)

FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YEAR)

SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES: OUTLET: MAY RIVER



FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YR)

FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YR)

SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES. OUTLET: INQUIRY

SELLING PRICE
INCREASED:
1976: 94.73
1977: 157.0

1976: 94.73
1977: 157.0

SALES BY VOLUME (000's OF GALLONS)

SALES BY VALUE (000's OF DOLLARS)

ALL ALCOHOLIC
BEVERAGES

ALL ALCOHOLIC
BEVERAGES

BEER

SPRITS

BEER

SPRITS

WINE

WINE

74 75 76 77
FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YEAR)

74 75 76 77
FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YEAR)

SIZES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES :

OUTLET: HOGAN WELLS

STANDARD BEER
10% Oct. 73
15% Dec. 75

SALES BY VOLUME (COO'S OF BEER)

ALL ALCOHOLIC
BEVERAGES

WINE
BEER
SPIRITS

74 75 76 77

FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YEAR)

SALES BY VALUE (COO'S OF BEER)

ALL ALCOHOLIC
BEVERAGES

WINE
BEER
SPIRITS

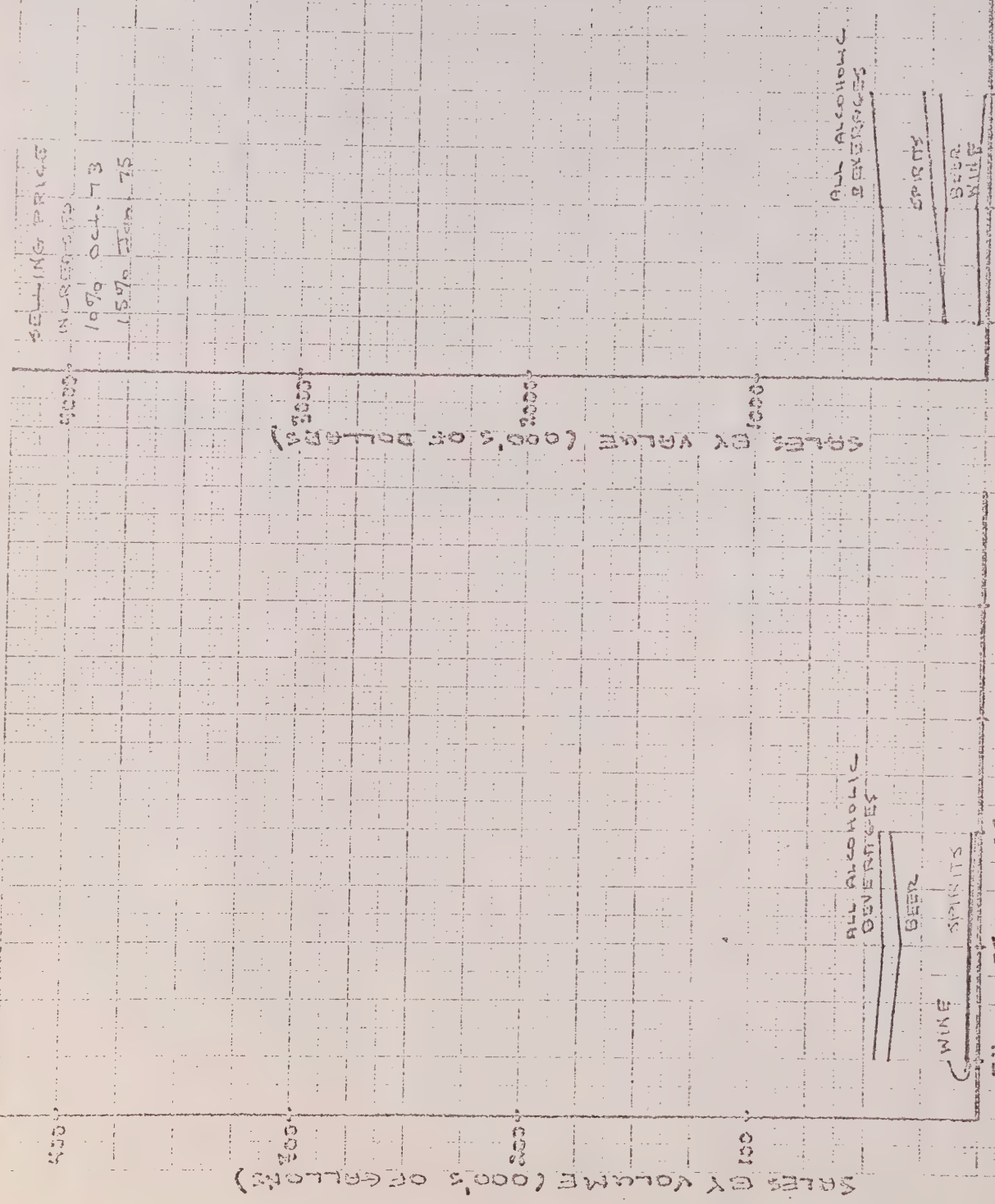
74 75 76 77

FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YEAR)

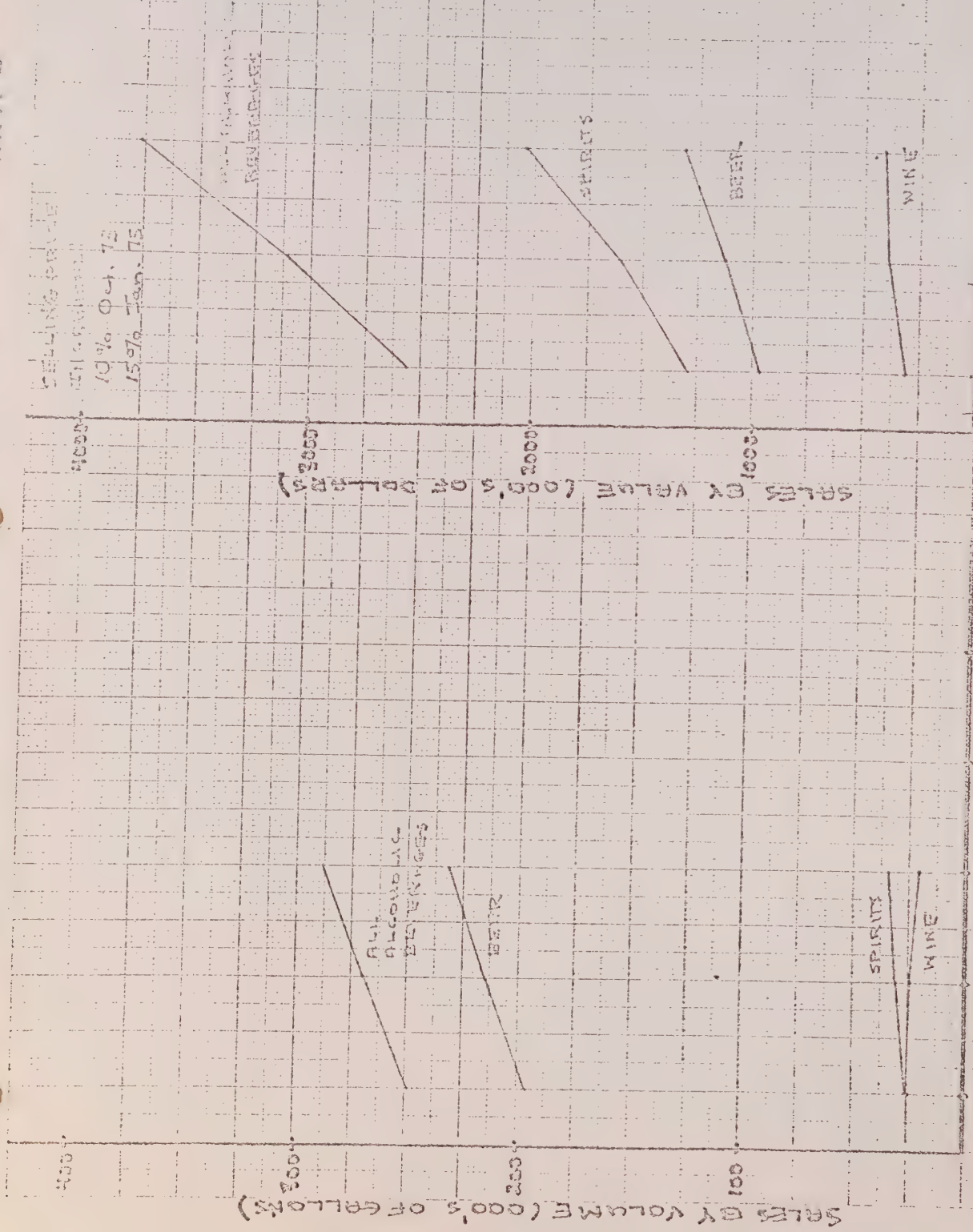
SALES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

OUTLET: PINE POINT

2



SPIES OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES : OUTLET: YELLOWKNIFE



74 75 76 77
FISCAL YEAR (ENDING MARCH 31 OF YR)

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE OF DAVE BUTTON

~~Steeves~~

Aug 20th - 10 AM

PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF C.O.P.E. _____

THE MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

August, 1976

(Subject to Revision)

I am Dave Button. I am a year around resident of the Mackenzie Delta community of Inuvik and I have been so since 1970.

I am speaking today about my experiences in secondary school education in the Western Arctic. These experiences came through my role as a counsellor in the high school in Inuvik. In this position I talked and worked with young people not only in school but those outside in the working community.

I would like to provide you with a few words of background information about formal education in the Mackenzie Delta. As you may know Judge Berger, the federal government established a secondary school in that bureaucratic dream community of Inuvik in the late fifties. Sir Alexander Mackenzie School housed grades kindergarten through grade 12. If you were to walk through the hallways of that school on the left side and go out the back door, you would face a rather imposing building called a hostel. This is Groillier Hall, a boarding school complex run by the Roman Catholic clergy for the benefits of Christian youth, Catholic Youth, that is. On the right side of the school, there is another equally large and imposing building called Stringer Hall. It is the exact duplicate of Groillier Hall but it is administered by a staff of Anglican people, again for the benefit of Christian youth, Anglican that is. Today, both hostels remain but Stringer Hall is in mothballs due to a declining school enrollment and the town of Inuvik has sprawled out around it.

The secondary school program that was begun at SAMS school in the late fifties and early sixties was modelled on a Southern

plan. Very little input of Northern ideas, knowledge or culture had been solicited in those years by federal officials. The language of instruction was English and the content was taught by teachers hired in the South. (For a grade 6 or 7 student coming from Ft. Franklin or Cambridge Bay, accustomed to English as a second language in school and his native language at home, the transfer to the school and hostel system in Inuvik must have been something.)

In 1968, another school was built in Inuvik, Samuel Hearne Secondary School, which allowed grades 7 to 12 to move out of SAM. Not much else changed in this secondary system. Teachers, texts and ideas for these higher grades were still imported from the south. In 1970, even with the transfer from federal (at least in name) to territorial jurisdiction of education, welfare, local government, etc., the Southern domination of Northern education continued.

Today, in 1976, things have changed a little. The curriculum for grades 7 to 9 is supposed to be distinctively Northwest Territories in origin. I know for a fact that months went into consulting teachers (trained in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Nova Scotia) about the new junior high school curriculum. Only a few token meetings were held with community and native leaders. (One would have thought that this new Northern curriculum would have included Northern people and their languages, the wisdom of the many many older native people from Franklin to Sachs Harbor, but it did not.) Further, many teachers reject this new plan and teach what they wish.

That is some information about the education system and I would like to tell you something about the Inuvik secondary school where I have worked for the past six years.

I have worked primarily as a counsellor. Three-fourth's of my time has been spent each year on counselling concerns.

Over time I have met former students as members of communities of the Delta and frequently as my friends.

My role has been primarily as a listener. As the years went by, I was continually learning about the place names around me, community history, and family structure from students coming from about 10 communities. These were primarily native young people and each of their communities was distinctive.

As Inuvik grew, I also had to gain an understanding of the Armed Forces, the Territorial and federal employees, and people in the private sector. The most important and most difficult task was talking to the parents of individual students to gain an idea of what they wanted for their children. Once I started to do that, I began to see how dissatisfied parents were with the secondary school system and what it was doing to their children. This was equally true of native Northerners or white Southerners.

From 1970 to 1973, in the manner of Southern high schools, a counselling colleague and myself dealt primarily with student needs. Our offices were hidden away in the school building and we taught a few classes while we tried to aid students in the

system. However, it was usually limited to the students who could find our office, who were old enough to voice their problems or who could communicate easily in English. The younger students in grades 7 and 8 and those who were shy were ignored because in a school population of 450 we were kept pretty busy.

I am still listening and I am still learning but by 1973 one thing had become quite clear. This was the difference in values each student brought to school as a native youth born and raised in the North or a white youth born and raised in the South except for the two years in Inuvik. The more I listened to a student from Sachs Harbor whose father worked part-time and trapped in the winter, the more I began to see how our secondary school was lacking in his eyes and those of his parents. I also talked with the youth from Ottawa whose father worked full-time for the former Industrial Development branch of the government and I saw that he and his parents were also disappointed in the school.

Both groups of students had real differences in values and ideas that I saw in the stories they wrote for assignments and the role models they had. It is important to realize that regardless of these differences, no one was satisfied with the philosophy and direction of the NWT Department of Education.

From 1974 to 1976 I was the only counsellor in our school. A cutback in funds eliminated the other counselling position. To meet this increased work load and the problems of morale (lateness, homework not done, decreasing quality of writing standards, smoking in the girls' washroom), we implemented another Southern model. This was the

teacher-advisor system developed at the Bishop Carroll High School in Calgary. We adopted this in 1974 and not only did it free me from being the sole source of counselling help in the school, it enabled my position to expand into the community with other agencies and with parents. In the teacher-advisor system, each staff member has 12 to 16 students from each grade. 20 minutes was dropped from the school day so the T.A. could meet with a student on a rotating basis: keeping in touch with him or her on school subjects, problems and anything they might want to work on. The emphasis was not so much on counselling as getting to know the student. We hoped that this increased interaction between say a young female teacher from Nova Scotia and a grade 9 boy from Aklavik would begin to solve some of our problems.

After three years of this counselling system we swear by it (and at it) and it is central to the school. There are still many difficulties but both teachers and students agree it is a great relief from the impersonal curriculum the high school follows. Besides my early experiences as a counsellor, I have now been able to draw upon the experiences of these teacher-advisors with students and families. Another factor which has increased my understanding over the past three years has been the increased contact and work with other agencies in the community such as Manpower, Social Development, and National Health and Welfare.

BASED this background I wish to state the following:

1. The immediate large scale development that is proposed by the respective pipeline companies will have many negative

far-reaching social impacts on people in the North whether they are Inuit, Dene, white or Metis. These social impacts will be more damaging than the immediate economic gain that is talked about. Therefore, in the second half of my testimony, I ask you to consider our current problems that would be intensified by uncontrolled and immediate large scale development.

2. Secondly, I will comment on some of the evidence presented to you by the pipeline companies in the evidence of Dr. Hobart and in the written studies of Gemini North and Derek Smith (Occupational Preferences of Northern Students. DIAND, 1974) Dr. Hobart has relied a good deal on that study which was carried out in 1967 and what he cited as an updated replica of that study in his evidence. (pgs. 41-44, "Socio-Economic Overview of the Mackenzie River Corridor", Dr. Charles Hobart, Panel 1, Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry.)

I am not a university-based sociologist nor researcher but I am a teacher and counsellor whose knowledge of social change and human behavior has been built more upon working and living with people and their communities. As an introduction to the following remarks, I would like to say that I am not opposed to what is called (and variously defined) "growth and development". In fact, I think it is inevitable but by concern is with the controls that should be placed upon it. The social impact of such a project as these respective pipeline companies propose is not something new or unknown. Whether it is in the wilds of New Guinea or in Estevan, Saskatchewan, whether it is a highway or a pipeline, we know they cause change. 20 years of natural gas can mean 50 years of social and cultural after-shocks.

I turn your attention to the Gemini North Study entitled "Social and Economic Impact of Proposed Arctic Gas Pipeline in Northern Canada". The author, referring to Dr. Deyek Smith's study of Occupational Preferences of Northern Students, states that "the message contained in Professor Smith's findings is that possibly training programs fail because they are not the programs northern students - white or native - wish to take in the first place, and that their teachers (who presumably reflect current attitudes dominating government policies) are not correctly reading student aspirations".

The above comment is quite correct in my experience. Training programs as I have seen them fail because they are the brain child of a CASE, Manpower, or Education employee. They are not a direct response to the needs of people and their communities. How else can one explain the token heavy duty equipment operator course that is bestowed on Northern settlements? How much heavy equipment can there be in Sachs Harbour, Gjoa Haven or Arctic Bay? One young person told me there were at least four or five men in his settlement, Sachs Harbor, who could operate such equipment but at latest report there is only one such machine.

VIII

After 50 years of Southern education models imposed upon the North, it is time we begin asking people themselves. There is great diversity between Northern settlements such as Pangnirtung in the eastern arctic and Aklavik in the western, yet they are all given the same educational programs created on a Southern timetable, a Southern economic environment, and Southern expectations. This is a very real and current social problem.

Although I have mentioned here school and training programs, the basic problem and question is this: how can community institutions become aware of and responsive to local needs? It is not only the education system with which Northern people are disenchanting, it is also the array of other social, economic and political institutions that are imposed upon them. You have heard this frustration and growing rebellion the community hearings throughout the Mackenzie River Valley from both native and non-native Northerners. In the native associations and in individual settlements people are speaking out against the traditional domination of government, church and non-native minority people within their midst.

The proposed pipeline is only the most current example of an-

other project imposed from the outside as is the NORTRAN program.

In the evidence of Dr. Hobbart and in the studies of the pipeline proponents, there is much space devoted to the youth of the North, their aspirations, their increasing educational levels, etc. I want to give you a description of young people as I see and work with them today. If what you hear is turmoil and confusion, questions and more questions with few hopes for answers, then I have conveyed to you much of what I have heard.

Young Northerners of the past five years reflect all that they have been exposed to, both the good and the bad, both the old and the new. Rapid growth in the media has made them more aware and informed, not only of their home settlement but of other Northern communities, larger Canadian society and the world. They have travelled and seen things. How many students in the sample Derek Smith used had ever been South on a Young Voyager program or an exchange with the West Indies through Operation Beaver? How many watchings of the late news does it take to imprint on a young person's mind his or her personal perception of our world?

Today's young Northerners were the little brother or little sister to those kids in 1967. Little brother and little sister are growing up. They have a more materialistic standard of living. Today's Northern student has what his counterpart of 10 years ago dreamed about. It is a real question as to whether the lure is still there.

How many of those students in 1967 knew of Southern reserves,

Treaties 8 and 11, racial prejudice on River Street of South Railway? How many knew of the possibility of being lonely in a city of 300,000 when in a community of 250 everyone had friends? How many knew of inflation, late movies, and the cost of living index?

Lifestyles have changed with the growth of Canada as a whole and the Western Arctic in particular. With that growth, "little brother" seems to have worked through the desire for big jobs, big money and big city living. Exposure to oil and gas companies and road construction crews have given him experience of the first two. With pictures of pollution in color on T.V., little brother and sister have also gained experience of the third.

Where are these young people now? Their concern is still with themselves and teen-agers have not changed in this respect. Now, however, it is not just concern about me and my job but about me and my family. Who am I? It is me as part of the Dene Nation or the plans for Nunavut. Who am I? It is me as part of a future that is unsure in money, jobs and personal happiness, where drug abuse and alcoholism abounds. Who am I? It is me in white man's shoes and jeans but the bearer of an Inuk name. Who am I? It is me that wants to reach out and touch but sister back in the hostel says that isn't nice. Who am I? It is me who is proud of my marks at school and the work I put into it but I hurt even more at my family's snubs when I return home for Christmas. Who am I? It is me that listens to Rick Wakeman weekend radio request shows in English. But how embarrassed I am when new friends ask me to "speak Indian". Who am I?

The new awareness of young Northerners, Metis, Dene, Inuit, or white runs deep and strong. After all, we have been doing something in those classrooms. This was reflected in the way young people spoke to me about Judge Berger's last evening in Inuvik. Do you remember when all those young people were there? They listened for awhile and did you notice that many slept through the longer formal presentations but they awakened when other young people began to ask questions.

Young people that night felt the laughter and the stares not only of the audience but some of the Commission people as well. They remembered feeling that they had been laughed at and that their concerns had been dismissed. I venture to say from their comments that they are not going to take much of that in the future. A new awareness of and appreciation of the old and the new, of the North and the South, of the work-oriented society and leisure society, is the foundation for their behavior today. They want more than a better monetary standard of living. They want social, environmental and cultural guarantees. They are asking you Judge Berger to listen to them.

Others can speak to you more knowledgeably and in more detail concerning other social problems and impacts of the proposed pipeline. In talking to this Commission today concerning the educational system in the North and young Northerners both within and out of that system, I hope I have been able to give you some useful information with which to evaluate the impacts of the proposed pipeline and the assertions of the proponents as to what those impacts will be.

In this third portion of my testimony, I wish to deal with some of the evidence presented to this Commission. As I mentioned at the close of my introduction, both Dr. Hobart and the Gemini North study relied heavily upon the study of Derek Smith in 1967. Dr. Hobart also mentioned a later replica of that study but as he gave no details on where or how it was carried out, I cannot comment upon it in detail.

Smith cites that he surveyed students in grades 7 to 12 in six Territorial communities: Inuvik, Fort MacPherson, Aklavik, and Yellowknife. The median age of this sample was 15.4 years. A survey of students in grades 7 to 9 would yield data surely but their maturity, their relative exposure with Southern travel and their familiarity with large corporations leads me to suspect the value of their information as an accurate indicator of later occupational preferences. Similar questions need to be asked with regard to the older students in that sample in grades 10 to 12.

In the data presented by Gemini North, the Smith study is used and I quote: (page 734) "The students were asked how they would rank known occupations in terms of prestige, what kind of employment conditions they preferred, the kinds of jobs they would prefer the most and like the least and where they preferred to live." further on that same page the Gemini North report states that Smith found "generally, native children in the Western Arctic appeared to have the same occupational aspirations as whites." This fact should be obvious in light of the Territorial Education policies of assimilation, student exposure to Southern teachers (and counsellors), hostel supervisors, etc., and the very content of the institutions themselves. Considering the exposure

and the suggestability of this 15.4 median age group, the conclusion takes on extra meaning. You could expect the students to give the answers that they knew were expected of them. While they might not know the words "socialization" and "assimilation", their teachers no doubt dropped hints as did their white friends as to what were acceptable occupational preferences.

I quote again from the Gemini North report. (pages 734-735) "Native students consistently ranked technical, skilled, clerical and administrative occupations highest including air line pilots, radio operator, electrician and typist. White students ranked these below doctor, lawyer, scientist." I think this is quite understandable because in the settlements young native people would be exposed to those roles. Further, in a society with increasing wage-earning activities, it would be these people who would have money. How many doctors, lawyers and scientists would a native youth have as a role model in Fort Good Hope or Paulatuk? Those surveyed answered to the best of their assimilation and exposure at the time.

Another question, if I know my students well, is that these are male preferences. What girl in 1967 or now would admit that she wanted to be a pilot, radio operator or electrician, even in our Western Arctic? Boys stayed in school longer in the sixties than the girls, wooed by gifts of sports equipment, extra hours, and more privileges than girls. The girls, under restrictive hostel rules, dropped out early and went home to their family. Today, girls are becoming leaders in the North and they are graduating in greater numbers from our Northern High Schools.

However, while greater numbers of native young people may be graduating from school, as a counsellor I can tell you that neither in 1967 nor 1976 do native youth adjust well to "assimilation" by school, hostel or community.

For the young person, it does not take long to get the message of the school and of the hostel: the things left behind in the home settlement are not good or are not good enough. Even if the preference is for life and family in the settlement, the immediate peer pressure of a Secondary School group would be large enough for a student to keep this preference to himself. He would do this until graduation day if need be to avoid hassels.

This is nothing new or distinctive only to native students in Northern Schools. The same peer pressure exists as does the expectations of the teachers. Today, if that same test situation was repeated in a classroom, the inner preference of the native student might still be concealed.

The Gemini North report, continuing with Smith's survey, states that native and non-native students in the Mackenzie Delta preferred to live first in Southern Canadian cities, secondly in other urban centers, and thirdly in small settlements or work camps.

In light of the median age of 15.4 years and the situation in the late sixties, these answers would be expected but they would not be based on first hand experience. Rather, it would have been a dream picked up through reading a magazine or perhaps seeing a movie. Youth in 1967 were quite sheltered in many ways from personal experience with most of the preferences listed

in the Smith report. I myself noticed that the difference in sophistication between high school students in 1970 and those in 1976 is quite vast.

Another finding of the Smith survey and used by Dr. Hobart and Gemini North, is that native students prefer permanent over part-time employment and that either form of wage employment is better than full-time living off the land. If this is used to justify, socially, the massive project of a pipeline, than I recommend another study be done. In my role as counsellor I feel some predictability of a 1976 study is possible.

Youth in 1967 who were 15 are now 24 years old. If their preferences were valid indicators of their future choices and behavior, then why are job mobility and dissatisfaction with working conditions such a major problem along the Mackenzie Valley today? For every young person willing to take on any job at the first of the month, there are just as many who are sick of it by the end of two weeks or a month and ready to move onto something else. As a person familiar with young people who have left school over these past 6 years, I can state that this trend is not limited to native young people. Native and non-native young people share these attitudes towards wage employment and steady employment, even when economic conditions are tight.

I will ask you Justice Berger to give priority neither to my testimony or that of surveys and more studies. These past five years of development in the North have been like 25 years in other Canadian communities. Give priority to the statements of young people in the communities across the North. Neither the respective surveys nor all of our interpretations can substitute for their own definition of the future they want.

In closing Mr. Berger, I would like to make the following recommendations for your consideration.

1. As I have indicated, we have problems now in the North, big problems, and we need time to work them out. I would urge a five to ten year freeze on all extensive development. Further, the pipeline proponents must acknowledge and help to pay for the employment, mental health, medical and educational services they will overtax in their concern to develop our pocketbooks. What good is it to have twenty years of income only to have the bills of social upset and turmoil coming in for not only the first twenty years but another twenty years thereafter?
2. Native land claims must be settled before any major development is permitted to go ahead. It is a legal as well as moral, political and social issue.
3. There must be residency clauses established, between five and ten years, for voting rights within the N.W.T.. We must maintain control over our own communities if we are to have any hope of beginning to solve the problems that now exist.
4. There must also be residency clauses established for employment so that resident Northerners have guarantees of employment on the pipeline whether they wish rotational short-term work or permanent wage employment.
5. Local control of education and training programs. This is really part of the overall need in the Northwest Territories for local control of community institutions which you have heard many others say to you in the Inquiry. A basic cause of our current problems is the lack of responsiveness to community needs and interests.

PERSONAL RESUME

NAME: Dave Button

BORN: Regina, Saskatchewan - 1946

CURRENT RESIDENCE: Inuvik, Northwest Territories

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

B.A. (Psychology and English) University of Saskatchewan,
in Regina in 1967.

B.Ed (Secondary) University of Saskatchewan in Regina in
1970.

EMPLOYMENT RECORD

- 1968-1969 - Teacher, Junior High School, High Level Alberta
- Reading teacher, Saskatchewan Public Heath Dept.
- 1969-1970 - Teacher, special Education Regina Public School
Board, Regina.
- Reading teacher, clinic with University of Sask.
- 1970-1976 - Counsellor, Secondary School Grades 7-12 Inuvik
Northwest Territories.

OTHER:

- Year round residence in Inuvik from 1970 to date except
for two weeks each Christmas Holidays.
- Ratepayer in the town of Inuvik
- Involved and concerned with developing social and recrea-
tional facilities in Inuvik for teen-agers.

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Sept '76th
905 AM

REPORT TO THE BERGER COMMISSION

by

DR. E. ELIZABETH CASS, O.C.

EVIDENCE PRESENTED ON BEHALF
OF C.O.P.E.

September, 1976.

REPORT TO THE BERGER COMMISSION

INTRODUCTION:

Before talking to you about the medical aspects and the impact of changing cultural, dietetic, and working habits, and the shock of impact of these conditions on our people following white intrusion and the pipeline, although I am dealing specifically with eyes, I was told to introduce myself.

Before coming to Canada, I travelled intensively working in Europe, North Africa, South America, etc. I had had patients of mostly all European countries, also Arabs, North Americans, East Indians, South Americans. Three languages are basics and no difficulty to me. Two more I could speak moderately well, and I could examine my patients in seven different European languages. I had, and still have friends and medical acquaintances all over the world, and am lucky to be able to obtain the picture of any ocular disease in different countries.

For many years I have realized that the pattern and distribution of eye disease, and for that matter all diseases, differs all over the world, and are determined by race, climate, work, homogeneity (inbreeding) and heterogeneity (mixed blood), religion, diet, and tribal taboos.

I arrived in Canada in Christmas 1956 with no real knowledge of the Indian and Eskimo, except for the rather sort of romantic picture given in childish books by Fenimore Cooper; and also I had read Farley Mowatt, who had written The People of the Deer. I had also information from Admiral Crewdson whom I had met at a cocktail party in Algeciras. He was the American admiral in charge of the Dew Line, and he told me about the importance of gaining control of the stratosphere. I arrived, I hope, with an open mind hoping to gain a knowledge of the character and mode of life and diseases of my patients. I had no fear nor distrust as I had found among some people, of the Indians.

I am British, a mixture of Scotch, Irish, French, and Dutch origin. My great-grandfather was, at the age of seventeen, a medical student on an Arctic expedition with Sir James Ross in 1822, and in 1824 with the famous Captain Bligh on a ship called the "Brunswick". On the other side of my family, a great-uncle, David Armstrong, was the Attorney General in Quebec in the time of Queen Victoria. So you see, we have had connections with Canada for a long time.

Although I am British and have many British friends, I cannot say I know the British; only my friends and my varied patients. And I cannot glibly say that I know any other nation other than

by this criteria; and this includes the Indian and the Eskimo. I have, I know, many friends amongst them with whom I feel at ease as they do with me. They have taught me a lot of their languages and cultures, and have helped me and ignored my unwitting mistakes and my lack of knowledge of their culture. I am grateful.

I have recently returned from the Indian Ecumenical Congress meeting where I met many Indians, old friends, and new. And I was asked by one, from what reserve I came from. I took this as a compliment. He had been introduced to me by another Ojibway. He felt completely at home with me, and could talk to me as he could with his own people.

The first year in Canada, I was sent to Moose Factory where I was fathered by a Cree Indian who taught me language, customs, the country, mode of life, and legends of his people. He took me up the bay to Fort Albany in a Bombadier at forty below having been only six weeks in this country. The rest of the year, I was with the Ojibway, Ottawa, and Huron. I was sent to Aklavik in April of 1958, the Government having arranged for me to stay for three weeks. Since then, I have travelled extensively, from Pelly Bay in the east to Old Crow in the west, and as far south as the Alberta border. In fact, I spent some twelve years travelling.

I had already learned from previous experience, it is essential in order to give good medical treatment, to be able to communicate with one's patients, not only in the silent language, but in their own language. All I could do here, with six languages and about sixteen dialects, was to learn sufficient to test eyes and to ask simple questions. I dislike having interpreters, especially when they are not medically trained. Nothing is more exasperating, when you have asked something which cannot be answered by 'yes' or 'no', and after a prolonged discourse, the interpreter turns to you and says, "He says 'no'". Or the interpreter is bored and asks what he thinks, and not what you want.

Dr. Cuthand, last week, told us a story about a nurse who had had an interpreter. Instead of saying to the old lady, "You will go to the hospital to have two shots.", said, "You will go to the hospital where you will be shot twice." My own efforts often give them a chance to laugh at the doctor and to this day, I have been so teased I don't know in Slavey, if I am talking about "snow" or "lice". And I once told an astonished Cree to look at my "arse" instead of to look at my "nose".

In order to realize and understand the basic principles guiding

their lives and therefore the pattern of diseases, I have travelled many times for a few days with our native people by dog-team, boat, Bombadier, etc. I have even been lost on the tundra. I have slept in Indian tents, crawled in and out of igloos, and you would never refer to "the lazy Indian" again, if you had seen one young Loucheux Indian who drove me in a dog-team just before break-up, up in the Arctic; we were on the Mackenzie on cracked ice with water on both sides, and no boat. We did 92 miles in 23 hours of which he ran most of the way.

Now, these are the points I wish to bring out.

WHAT DOES THE PIPELINE IMPLY TO DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE?

To the average Canadian it suggests simply a further supply of energy for the South.

To the oil companies, a source of oil and gas, and an expansion of their business.

To the economist, development of the natural resources of the land with the growth of agriculture, towns, and all the buildings it entails. But he must consider if the value of the natural resources justify the high expenditure, and if the resources are of scarce supply in the country (and the needs are so pressing) that the sources must be tapped for the good of the nation.

To the ecologist, it is a situation which must be carefully studied to see if tapping of these resources will lead to the destruction of the land and sea: is it worth it? And also, if there are oil spills, how they can be dealt with and how to prevent contamination with destruction of animal life and vegetation.

But far more than anything, what does it mean to the people who have inhabited the land for generations, and have depended on the natural resources of their land for their livelihood and

security? Many of them still do to this day and supplement their diet with the natural resources of the land which are far better than store food.

Basic foods such as fish, wild meat and birds, edible fruits and plants are all available, and still, clothing such as moccasins and parkas. Of course they have had hard times; at times they have starved, and these supplies may fail from time to time, but this happens in every walk of life and every culture. The fur from trapping still brings them money for other necessities. Store food is expensive. Wild meat and birds are far better than the expensive store meat, and wild meat has far less fat. For example, the caribou only gets fat on its back in the Autumn, and traditionally, this was only given to the hunter.

Natural refrigeration can be used up here. You dig up a square of turf down to the perma-frost and lay your berries and your meat in containers and sacks, and this keeps them preserved. You can dry or smoke your fish yourself.

The land is rich in edible berries, such as cranberries, blueberries, wild strawberries, raspberries, and rhubarb. I have even seen wild gooseberries (I do not know whether

these have been an import, I am not quite sure). They certainly have currants of many kinds. Also they have mint from which mint tea can be made. They have spruce which supplies them with spruce tea and Vitamin C. They even were kind enough to give it to the early explorers who were suffering from scurvy. The natives knew that spruce tea would cure and prevent this condition. They also have plants, i.e., your dandelion leaves can be used as a vegetable like spinach and are rich in iron. There are rose hip berries, etc. again, rich in Vitamin C. There are even the juniper berries which are, I discovered, used for abortion by the natives, and which funnily enough in Britain, "spirits of juniper" i.e., gin, is known as "mother's ruin". It was given by the old women to cause abortion.

GENERAL PATTERNS OF LIFE

INDIAN PATTERN

1. close-knit family unit, special care given to the children and aged
2. lack of sense of time governed by the clock; time is governed by the necessity of the job, conditions of life, etc.
3. knowledge of the country which teaches them patience, acceptance of life and inevitable events
4. lack of a feeling of differences between social structures in their own communities
5. hospitality extended to complete strangers irrespective of whom they are
6. politeness is considered to be not asking questions

WHITE CULTURE

1. far less closely knit family unit; children are sent to school, old people put in homes
2. work and meals governed by the clock
3. lack of knowledge of natural difficulties and impatience
4. conscious of social strata
5. unlike the Indians, hospitality is usually limited, due to social conditions, often due to social and monetary problems
6. always ask questions

GENERAL PATTERNS OF LIFE: (see table at side)

Up here your actions, you must realize, are not governed by the clock. You go on with your job until you have finished. If you are living as a trapper or a hunter, there are no stores. You have to get your food and you have to get your work done independent of the clock. Personally, I think it is a good idea; if I want to finish a job of work, I go on until I have finished it. I do not work scheduled hours as I do not think many doctors do; and certainly the native cannot, nor can the farmer on the prairies. It is ironical to think of the man who is working in the city who rushes to work, rushes for his meals, rushes home and spends the year dictated by the clock, raising his blood pressure by his efforts, and shortening his life in order to save enough money to take his wife and his family for a two week vacation to live in a tent like an Indian.

With regard to politeness, I remember a friend coming from England who was so struck with this. She said, "These people are polite. They all say 'good morning' to me, and they always open the door for me in the Hudson Bay". Another example of politeness, I think, is this: recently in Morley where it was pouring with rain I came into my tepee, shared by three young Indian men and one Indian woman, to find one young man drying himself by the fire. I said to him,

"John, I am sopping wet. I must change my trousers." John politely turned his back and warmed his hands at the fire.

With hospitality, well, I wonder how many people would welcome two whites and a strange Indian at two o'clock in the morning asking no questions. I remember arriving at a Dog Rib tent at the end of Marion Lake, at two in the morning. We were tired. We had got wet because of snow falling from the trees where the dogs hit the trees as they pulled the sleigh. My guides went to find a place for me. By the time I had arrived there was a fire in the middle of the tent, and there were a number of people in the tent who didn't know me from Adam; no questions asked, but my sleeping bag which was wet had been hung up to dry. My caribou rug had been laid down for me between two young men, and I was made welcome, given tea, and in the morning, poached moose meat for breakfast.

People do not realize I think, how climate, race, culture, diet, work, and religious and tribal taboos, inbreeding (what we call homogenecity), and mixed breeding, i.e., different races (heterogenecity), can affect eyesight and eye diseases; nor that the early signs of many general and neurological diseases are first seen in the eye. These also depend on the conditions of life and the diet.

People do not realize that many defects in sight cannot just be cured by glasses, and more and more we are finding that these so-called defects such as short sight, are often a disease which can be prevented and cured.

I will endeavour to show you how changes in the culture and the different diet and employment can affect your sight, and if your sight is impaired, it affects your whole mode of life.

DIET PATTERNS

THE ORIGINAL NATIVE PATTERN

Natural sources of food:

plants, fruits, wild meat,
birds, and fish

Low in salt, fat, carbohydrates,
and starch

High protein

Resulting in:

1. longevity
2. low blood pressure
3. good eyesight
4. lack of severe ocular diseases
5. high haemoglobin, blood calcium, low cholesterol

THE WHITE MAN'S PATTERN

Store food:

canned and frozen foods, cultivated
fruits and vegetables, fat meat, and
artificially fed chicken, etc., frozen
fish, pop, candy

High salt, fat, carbohydrate, starchy diet

Resulting in:

1. decreasing span of life
2. high blood pressure
3. heart disease
4. diabetes of the elderly
5. kidney disease
6. short sight
7. blinding ocular diseases, i.e., due
to impaired circulation of the eye,
cataracts, glaucoma, retinitis, etc.

DIET PATTERNS: (see table at side)

Firstly, I want to talk to you about the problems of short sight and its increase all over the world. These problems are not only in Canada, and I can give references besides my own statistics which will prove this to you. Short sight up here is serious for the people. None of the older Indians or Eskimos had short sight unless they had white blood in them. (I can show you this on my statistics.) These were the people born before the 1940's. Because of this increase in short sight, there are now research centres in the States, Japan, Australia, Russia and the United Kingdom, where ophthalmologists are engaged in extensive projects to study the origin of this deformity and how to prevent and correct it.

More and more it is realized that short sight is a disease which develops during a child's life. With the object of combating this menace, the International Myopia Research Foundation was formed in New York and in 1964 the first International Congress was held. It gave interesting and appalling revelations from research workers all over the world. There are many types of short sight; some show an hereditary tendency; others show a congenital tendency.

The type which attacks us here is what is known as "school myopia". Evidence has been found that it occurs when people change their mode of life and their diet. The length of the eyeball is the same in these cases as it is with normal sighted people and with some long sighted people. The length of the eye can be measured by ultra-sound and was measured in extensive research first done in Japan as long ago as 1939. The Japanese have now cut down their short sight by about 40% in the last few years.

This type of short sight is developing at an earlier age and

and also at a later age than formerly. Certain factors have been found when this condition starts, all over the world:

1. it occurs in people who have plenty to eat and are not starved, are often overweight, but whose diet is high in starch, carbohydrate, fat and salt.
2. races on a high protein, low carbohydrate, low starch and fat and salt diet do not have this myopia.
3. controlled experiments reveal blood calcium is lower than normal and haemoglobin is often below normal.
4. it occurs more in urban than rural areas except where the soil is deficient in certain minerals such as calcium and manganese.

This change from native diet occurs when the children go to the residential schools or when they move into settlements. Their parents who were on high protein, low carbohydrate, low starch, fat and salt diet did not get myopia. This again has been observed in the peoples of the races studied by those who have been studying myopia. It has also been revealed by controlled experiments that the blood calcium is lower (this was found by Shaefer) in the children who lived in the residential schools as was the haemoglobin. This was also true for the children in communities who were living on the white man's diet. Haemoglobin and calcium is lower when they make this change in their diet. The blood pressure and the blood cholesterol also tends to go up in the older people.

The Russians have found another interesting fact; in areas where there is deficient calcium in the soil, there is also an increase in myopia. The Russians are curing this myopia not with glasses, but by, in early stages, giving drops in the eye and by controlling diet.

For races such as our Indians and Eskimos, myopia is an extremely serious problem, and you cannot wear any corrective lenses in extreme cold, especially thick, myopic ones.

Also there is another problem. It has recently been discovered that this type of what appears to be a simple myopia, in later life is associated with a blinding disease that the Indians and Eskimos never used to get. It does not give you any acute pain, but there is a gradual diminution of vision. We can, therefore, see that diet is of intense importance. In other words, the evidence from all over the world, shows that a diet such as the natives use (low salt, fat starch and carbohydrate) is far healthier than the average white diet, especially in the north where we have to rely so much on store food.

AFFECTS OF LIGHTING AND CLOSE WORK ON PRODUCTION OF MYOPIA:

It was thought by some that the children were doing close work for the first time and that this cause the myopia. There is no evidence of this.

Contrary to common belief, extremely close, fine, fatiguing work is performed by all who live in the primitive conditions. This work would be done in the dark winter months under appalling lighting conditions. Even to this day, in igloos and tents, we see women and girls sewing skins with meticulous small stitches or doing intricate bead work with patterns, and making their moccasins and parkas. The men and boys are mending the nets and the mesh of snowshoes and dog harnesses and often the Eskimos are carving small figures. No pure-blooded Indian or Eskimo prior to those born in the 1940's had myopia. But when they change over and live the life of the White, the lighting in their houses is improved and the lighting in all government schools in the north is excellent electric light.

STATISTICS ON MYOPIA:

I will now show you my statistics on myopia.

You will notice in these totals the great increase among even the Metis, the Indians and the Eskimos from 1958 to 1970. The early explorers had to be healthy men with healthy eyesight. It was not until the 1930's when other people such as the Hudson Bay factors and clerks who did not need the good eyesight were coming into this country that we got myopia. There was even an Anglican missionary who had a special type of myopia which is very severe and is known as progressive myopia. This is a hereditary myopia and it results in an extreme failure of sight. His grandchildren have inherited this type of myopia and they are the only children in the northern area with this particular type of myopia.

If we look at the statistics, we see that among the Whites born before the 1940's, and even among the Metis, there is a fairly high percentage of myopia, higher in the Whites than in the Metis. But when we get to the Indian and Eskimo, the percentage is practically nil. The one case we found in Old Crow was an Indian who was the daughter of the local store-keeper.

Look at these statistics now in small isolated Indian settlements. You will see again, ^{among} those born prior to the 40's there was practically no myopia except in this one girl, and this myopia however, has increased enormously; but still, the children below pre-school age do not get this myopia. However, when we get to the semi-acculturated areas, where they are having more the white man's diet, such as in the Delta Eskimo and the Loucheux Indians, we note this more rapid increase, and a higher percentage of myopia.

The same thing, as you will see, happens with the Eskimo in Pelly Bay and Spence Bay. In Pelly Bay and Spence Bay, the percentage of myopia was low, but ⁱⁿ Pelly Bay, you will notice an explanation which I give, which shows you that the only children who had myopia in the settlement, when I first went into it, were the children who had been to residential school, and this has happened in many other places. Spence Bay as you can see again, shows the differences between 1963 and 1970; there was ~~-----~~ a 4.5% in the children in 1970, whereas previously there had been a 0%. It was not until the late 1960's that the children from Spence Bay were sent to residential schools.

OTHER DISEASES ASSOCIATED WITH DIET:

When I first went north too, I was struck by the fact of the low blood pressure and high haemoglobin of the old Indian and Eskimo people. There was also a lack of a disease which is common in white people, and which you have all heard of, and that is cataract.

The Eskimo in those days were hardly ever be over the age of sixty, and I thought that there was an age factor.

Tuberculosis seemed to have had much more effect on their span of life than it had on the Loucheux Indians. The Loucheux lived to well over a hundred. The oldest Loucheux I ever saw was married in 1850, and we reckon that her age must be at least a hundred and fifteen. The Hare Indians were in their seventies, eighties, and again, the ordinary cataract which we find in white people was not present.

During a meeting of my own Society, it was mentioned the high percentage of cataract among the Indians of India. Whilst our Indians lived their way of life, trapping, hunting, etc., and on this high protein, low fat, low salt, and low carbohydrate diet, the diet of the Indians of North India was entirely different. Their diet was rich in carbohydrates and starch,

they had very little protein. They lived sedentary lives, and cataracts were so common that they were setting up camps all over India to operate on the Indians in their own habitat and to try to give them back their sight.

I found as I went further south, among the Metis and Indians, cataracts became more common. The diet of the people living in the larger settlements such as Hay River, Yellowknife, and Fort Smith, was much more the diet of the White. So you could see, when you change to this inadequate salty diet, you do get a number of diseases and that is what is going to happen more and more unless something is done about it.

We also find among the southern Indians, which we did not find in the northern Indians and Eskimo, a type of elderly diabetes, (although we did occasionally get a high blood sugar among the Eskimo). Again, this is associated with diet. I have seen this in the Mediterranean where we had a very high percentage of diabetes with haemorrhages in the eye in older people who were constantly filling up on very rich pastry with a lot of butter in it. These people had diabetic cataracts, haemorrhages in the eye and failing vision. They were very difficult to deal with. We never found it in our northern Indians who were living on their normal diet.

Due to an increase in blood pressure, we also find changes in the retina which lines the eye. It is a very delicate nerve layer, easily upset by an impairment of circulation. We also find that the eyes of people with high blood pressure change, especially at the centre of sight which is known as the macula. We find fine pigmentation there, sometimes little tiny dilated swellings on the arteries and, in later stages of high blood pressure, we

get bleeding and severe impairment of sight, often leading to blindness. This was a condition that our Nordic Indians never got before. But as we moved further south, we began to find cases of such conditions where the Indian was changing his life style.

I notice that in the "Response to Information Request for Socio-Economic Supplementary Concerns" put out by Imperial Oil Company, they say, "added and regular income could promote better housing, improved nutrition for the native population, particularly long-term benefit and improved health should accrue". They seem to consider that white man's diet is healthier than our Nordic Indian's, but it is the contrary. And how are they going to get houses when no houses are available? Houses have to be built. Do the pipeline propose to build houses for the people?

The native food, when plentiful, is better than the white's. But what happens when the native man goes to work on the construction area for the pipeline? What is going to happen to mother at home if she has to look after the house and look after the children? When husband was there, especially in the more Nordic regions, he could go out for a day's hunting. He could get his moose or caribou, or go fishing. The children are going to school, who is to do this? The women don't go out to hunt for the caribou or the moose. The children may snare a few rabbits. Mother has to rely more and more on store food, and the further north you go, the less easy it is and the more expensive it is. Her budget is going to be doubled or trebled in order to get sufficient food for her children.

Again, they will be getting inefficient store food, and the result on the eyes of the children will be detrimental, and also on the mother's eyes. So I don't think this is going to be of any advantage.

(as Mayhall will confirm).

It will also affect their teeth/ The report says that there will be "better medical and dental facilities". The Health Services at present are finding it extremely difficult to attract any doctors up here. A lot of them just do not want to come North. They want to go to the cities. There are not enough specialists to go around in Canada, and there will be a shortage in the future.

ALCOHOL ABUSE:

So now we turn from the question of diet to alcohol abuse. The abuse of alcohol they say might be caused by additional income/^{but this} is not necessarily true at all. There is a different pattern of alcohol use all over the north, and it varies from year to year in different settlements. You seem to get settlements which are hit with real severe drinking problems, some of them recover in the course of time;; some of the natives pull themselves together, some of the young are revolting against what they have seen in their parents, and in others the parents for the sake of their children are also stopping drinking and seeking assistance from the A.A. I know in one Nordic settlement, when I was there a few years ago, all the elder people were drinking with disastrous effect; but now a number of them have pulled themselves together, have been out and sought treatment for their problems, and are doing much better.

TRADITIONAL DRINKING PATTERNS

NORMAL INDIAN DRINKING PATTERNS

Drink used by Indians to celebrate certain occasions:

1. end of caribou hunt --
alcoholic drink made from
the fermented juices of
caribou stomach
2. drink made from (?) mushroom
rooms in the Arctic amongst
the Loucheux Indians, (?)
celebration, (?) ritual,

WHITE DRINKING PATTERNS

1. celebrations, Christmas, weddings, etc.
2. cultural, wine with meals, as in
Europeans
3. social drinking with friends,
in bars, etc.
4. medicinal, after illnesses, etc.
5. to relieve tiredness, worry,
frustrations, etc.

TRADITIONAL DRINKING PATTERNS: (see table at side)

Years ago there was ritual drinking among the Indians; that is, when they killed a caribou and had a feast, they would make a drink out of the fermented contents of the caribou stomach. This drink would be given to the hunters, and they would get delightfully and gloriously drunk and have a celebration. I found also, that there was some plant, I think it must have been a kind of mushroom, which was used in the north, in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories where the Loucheux lived. For celebration, I was told by an old Indian, they would make a brew out of this plant and drink it. Everyone would again get delightfully drunk, and dance round and round, and if they fell down, they were pulled up and made to dance again until everybody was lying flat on the ground and couldn't move. This was a periodic binge, but they were not chronic alcoholics.

But now a lot of them drink because they have lost their identity. They don't fit anywhere. They don't fit into the white man's world because they haven't sufficient education. They can't go back home because their home life was interrupted by going to residential schools when they were young and they have lost all their native skills. Children often cannot communicate with their grandparents. The tragedy of the child who is only brought up with one language instead of learning more than one is very great in a northern culture. How difficult it is if you cannot speak the language and if you have no knowledge of customs

and traditions and how to deal with the situations in different areas.

It is not my place to go into great details here, but in Indians the presence of the white man, who has more money, better clothes, education and housing, and can give more to his family, makes him feel inferior. The only time many can really let themselves go and express that feeling and dislike is when they get up the courage with drinks. This leads to excess with loss of jobs, and a pattern starts. Sometimes they pull themselves together, sometimes they do not.

Lack of communication and the feeling of a man that he is being treated like a child by the White also leads to this condition. This feeling has begun in childhood.

For example, a few years ago, a group of Dog Rib children were sent from Fort Rae to Fort Smith to school. They were very young children, some of them were about eight or nine; and they could not speak English. I was simply told that there were six children, none of them who could see, and they were all rather stupid, who had been sent to see me. I came in to find six pairs of terrified eyes who looked at me in fear and dismay. Luckily, I could speak a few words of Dog Rib and the reaction was tremendous. They all started up from where they

were sitting and came running around me. We went to my room, and they were playing on the floor. I checked their sight and I found the following: all of them could see, they could not understand English, one child was stone deaf and could only lip-read in Dog Rib and not in English. People do not seem to realize, unless they have suffered from it themselves, how awful it is if you cannot communicate due to language barriers.

This is not the only case. I will give you another example. There have been people, as there was this one person, sent in to assess the children's intelligence, again the Dog Ribs and this was in their own community. A lengthy report was written saying that these children were all mentally retarded, etc. etc. This report was read by a French nurse who was situated there who had found similar difficulties in communicating in another language, and she was furious. She went to the person concerned and said, "Why do you say this?" and they said, "Obviously" And she said, "Did you test them in Dog Rib?" and the answer came back, "No, or course not.". "Well," she said, "if you asked me similar questions which were asked the children, I probably couldn't answer them. Suppose we try." She then proved her point quite successfully because her English was inadequate and she couldn't understand. Our lack of communication is a very serious problem and people come up North not realizing it.

The Native will obligingly say "yes" to every thing, hoping the white man will finish talking and go away.

Due to this lack of communication and lack of understanding resentment and frustration may be caused on both sides.

But I do know when I have been in places where there have been construction camps before, the whites have come in and drunk with the Indians, and under the influence of drink, there have been fights between the White and Indian. There are bound to be jealousies if the white man takes up with native women. The natives will resent it.

Providing added employment will not lead to this recudtion of feelings of inadequacy, nor will it lead to less alcohol abuse. The feeling of inadequacy is not just mementary and it leads to plain resentment.

It arises too from a different sense of values. Why should the inhabitants have to learn all bout the white mand and the white man knows nothing about them, and makes no attempt to learn. The white man is a child in the bush, just as much as the Indian is a child in the city. When I have been in the bush with them, and they have said, "You're the boss"; I have said, "I am not the boss, in the bush you're the boss; in the town I may be the boss".

We are going to get this fighting in bars, we are going to get people injured, we are going to get far more eye injuries.

This has been steadily on the increase ever since the increase in white population up here and the increase of workers who come temporarily to the North, whatever project they have come for.

Some people adapt more than others; others cannot. So what happens? We do get the chronic drunks and the children are neglected and they do not get enough to eat. But I think this is less among the Indians than the whites, and you cannot lay down any hard and fast rules.

STATISTICS ON EYE INJURIES DUE TO VIOLENCE: (see tables)

Here are my figures and statistics on the increase in eye injuries due to violence in one place alone, since 1958. The first year I was dealing with old injuries. As T.B. cases have decreased, we have a rise of this increase of violence to the eye. Sometimes there are fights between Indians themselves, sometimes there are fights between Indians and Whites. The whole situation varies from time to time.

Alcohol can lead to an increase in congenital diseases:

1. through the drunkenness in the mother
2. through injury to the baby at birth with the mother being drunk
3. due to what we call consanguinity, that is, to children born as a result of sexual intercourse between closely related people.

HOMOGENECITY:

The Loucheux keep strict laws against consanguinity, and have the lowest number of congenital ocular defects. Other tribes who do not keep these laws have a noticeably higher percentage of congenital defects.

Where there is more drunkenness, the laws against intermarriage are not kept strictly. One Indian girl told me that incest under the effects of drink has occurred in her settlement, and that there have been relationships between brothers and sisters. The resulting children are not told of this, but the elders all know and are trying to revive their tribal laws and are fighting off drink because of this.

We also find that drink is playing similar havoc amongst the Eskimo and we do know that there is a higher percentage of

consanguinity because they do change wives on the trail with their friends. They are aware of the results of consanguinity but because of this exchange of wives there are a number of marriages between close relatives. Believe me, this exchange is not done as a general custom but only amongst friends or as an economic necessity.

HETEROGENECITY:

Now there are certain disease which do not exist in the Indian and Eskimo, but which do exist in the White, and are only brought in with white blood:

1. retino-blastoma and melanotic Sarcoma, i.e., (forms of cancer of the eye) in the Northwest Territories have only occurred with the introduction of white genes. All the people concerned were 25% White. This disease has been a killer, and luckily there have been very few in number.
2. Neuro-muscular diseases, i.e., weakness of the eye muscles with loss of binocular vision, that is, the ability to judge distances and shapes, are also another condition which occur far less in the Indian and Eskimo than they do with the introduction of White blood, i.e., in the Metis races and in the Caucasian.

Here are some statistics:	Indian	1.86%
	Eskimo	1.19%
	Metis	6.4 %
	White	5.31%

There is a very common type of strabismus which often runs in families amongst Whites and is never seen in the Indian and Eskimo unless white blood is introduced. Funnily enough, there is also a particular type of strabismus which is only found with mixed blood. This particular type of muscle weakness is a congenital one. It occurs in more than one member of the family, and it is a dominant character that is handed down to successive generations, and I have found evidence of this in many others besides the numbers I give here. Here are the statistics for the same.

We notice too a thing which is also cause for comment, and that is; there is a condition known as congenital, (not the congenital and familial), but the congenital strabismus which is present in all four groups. Strabismus is a form of cross-eyed or wandering eye or weakness of some of the other muscles in the eyes. Along with other defects, it was noted that in the Eskimo before the 40's, very little of it existed. There is a reason for this. In the old days as we know, the Eskimo were very conscious of people who had some congenital weakness, often ^{they} could not exist on the land and there was no way in their hard life by which these children could be cared for at the expense of theirs. They were left to die out of necessity. We notice this particularly in the cases of muscle weakness.

FINAL DECISION:

No one individual or group can decide on such an important question. It is up to the people of all walks of life who have studied this question to come to a decision of what should be done for the best of the country at large, and particularly for the people who inhabit the North. How much is the country going to be destroyed and if it does destroy part of the country, how much is it going to affect the rest of the country especially if the sea is polluted.

CONCLUSIONS:

With the advent of large construction camps we are going to have a rapid increase in diseases and condition prejudicial to good sight of the native and probably also to the white workers. Firstly we have the diet. I have eaten in a few of these camps. The food is plentiful but fatty, starchy and sweet. Instead of adequate salt in the cooking, the men add far too much salt, and eat pickles, chutney etc.

Effects will be as stated, "wives and children at home and the men in camps with the result in an increase in ocular diseases associated with diet.

Lack of communication and understanding, loneliness, fear and jealousy will lead to excessive drinking as a relaxation, with resulting increase in crimes of violence and loss of sight.

This will also lead in some cases to lack of tribal taboos and an increase of inbreeding and other diseases such as an increase in high blood pressure etc.

Children of mixed blood will be born and liable to inherit the diseases of the white's crosseyed and short sighted people are handicapped in this country and so are people with cataracts even if operated upon, open angle glaucoma, which is now being found more frequently in cases of myopia, defective vision due to high blood pressure and Diabetes will also take their toll.

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THE IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY GAS
PIPELINE ON HOUSING IN INUVIK AND FORT SIMPSON

LOUISE CLARKE

Received 11 AM
June 7

EVIDENCE PRESENTED ON
BEHALF OF
COPE - NWTIB - METIS ASSOC.

BERGER INQUIRY - YELLOWKNIFE
PHASE FOUR

The material to be presented to-day is taken mainly from a report which I was commissioned to prepare for the three Native organizations of the NWT. The specific purpose of that study was to assess the impact of the proposed Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline on housing cost and availability with emphasis on how the impact will affect Native people. It focussed on the communities of Inuvik and Fort Simpson.

I would like to stress from the beginning that housing, even excluding technical and design aspects, is an extremely complex field involving demography, labour force dynamics, construction industry economics, government policies and programmes, over-all urban planning and human aspirations. I am not an expert in any one of these specific fields, but I have spent over five years doing research in several of them.

To accomplish this complicated task then, I reviewed the applicants' primary socio-economic documents, conducted an extensive literature search and made a three-week field trip to Inuvik, Fort Simpson and Yellowknife to interview government officials at all three levels, representatives of big industry, local entrepreneurs and the Native people.

Two points became particularly striking during the course of the work. First, there is a real lack of reliable statistical information on the most basic items in any traditional planning analysis. Secondly, there is an evident divergence between the southern housing market and that of the NWT and, within it, a great difference between the Native and non-Native housing situation. Combined, these points mean that detailing probable impact of the pipeline on housing often devolves to a "best guess" and therefore, is extremely susceptible to subjective interpretations.

But, before I discuss the implicit approach and assumptions of Arctic Gas in particular and my own in comparison, I would like to give a social/historical perspective to the divergences between North and South, Native and non-Native. This is crucial to assessing either the various analyses of the situation or possible courses of action.

First then, the basic differences between the southern and northern housing markets. Until a generation or so ago, the North was largely self-reliant in the provision of housing. Almost all housing was owner-occupied and probably was built either by the individuals themselves or by local builders using mostly local materials. The rapid growth of the population due to resource development and expansion of the government sector - progress toward Southern standards, if you will - has changed this, especially in the larger communities such as Inuvik and Fort Simpson. Now, many of the younger generation, certainly the non-Natives, probably do not know how to build their own houses. Those who have committed themselves to the wage economy do not have the time anyway to build their own.

The local sawmills that produced the materials can no longer produce enough to compete with imported B.C. lumber. For example, the Jean Marie Co-op requested a loan in order to replace a piece of their equipment; instead they were given all new equipment which turned out to be from the east and also out-of-date so that they could not get new parts when it broke down. Then, IAND hired a southern consultant to come and tell them how to run their business. Meanwhile, the business had failed and some of the families were forced onto welfare. A residential construction "industry" as understood in the South does not really exist in Inuvik or Fort Simpson. There is only one contractor in Inuvik and the indeterminate existence of one in Fort Simpson. Gemini reported that there were 47 certified tradesmen of all types in Inuvik and

Tuktoyaktuk and only nine in Fort Simpson. In any event, many of the new units in the private sector are mobile homes; many others and virtually all public housing units are prefabs. Other work, if it involves more than a few units, is usually done by Edmonton firms. Neither is there a residential real estate business outside of Yellowknife. If a local entrepreneur wished to build some housing, he might even be unable to get local financing, with the possible exception of the Industrial Development Bank. Thus, an almost complete dependency on southern labour, materials and financing has developed. In turn, this means that costs are probably higher than would be explained solely by the climatic/environmental differences.

But the main reason why costs are high and the Northern situation is so different is the whole system of housing subsidies whereby governments control directly or indirectly the majority of the housing stock, setting the standards for the private sector as well.

Federal government staff housing is among the best in the Territories. To construct a three-bedroom detached unit in Inuvik in 1976 would cost the Department of Public Works \$75-80,000. Developers wishing to sell or rent units to private individuals, industry, or the Territorial government will have to approach this standard of construction.

And the only reason that people can afford to live in them is because an elaborate system of shelter benefits has been developed precisely to attract people to the North. Once the Federal government inaugurated this system, expectations were established and business and industry had to follow suit. In fact, people's expectations are so strong that last year the Federal government rolled back rents in staff accommodation because of complaints that they were too high. So, there is no real problem of people not being able to afford housing because big government and big business will pay whatever they have to to attract employees.

Exacerbating the problem of high costs and waste is the fact that utilities costs are also heavily subsidized. In federal government units, there is a flat utilities fee of only \$21 a month and a fuel tax of \$4 for married couples and \$1 for singles. A Department of Public Works official in Inuvik estimated that maintenance costs to his department are more than rent paid - as much as \$200 a month per unit.

Likewise in the low-rental and public housing sector, the governments responsible (mainly the federal and now territorial) have led the people to believe that housing will be free or very low cost. The maximum rent in the low-rental houses is \$130. In Inuvik, over one-third of the tenants pay the minimum which is \$2. Average rents in the public housing projects (dividing total revenue by the number of units) are \$134.26 in the row housing, \$135.13 for the three-bedroom detached units and \$30.40 in the senior citizens building.

The net result here is that transiency is actually encouraged by these shelter benefits among the Southern in-comers. Although most people prefer homeownership to renting, everything is stacked against homeownership in the North. And so, a great many Southerners cannot or are not willing to make the sacrifices necessary to become a homeowner and make a real commitment to the community.

Among Natives, the result is dependence. They want to or must stay and because of costs are also excluded from homeownership for the most part. Most of the Native people who have managed to achieve or maintain homeownership have done so only at great cost. A few, like the co-op in Inuvik, were able to build quite nice homes because of quantity buying, the Eskimo Loan Fund, as well as a great deal of perseverance. Others were able to exercise the rent-to-purchase option on low-rental units or they built a house themselves. To build a bit at a time as they could was really the only option for Métis who did not qualify

under the old federal programmes. They try to find or buy wood to save on fuel, they do without appliances, etc. in order to keep electricity costs down.

As mentioned unfortunately, the standards for Natives are considerably lower than for non-Natives. Over all, the quality of Native Housing has improved since the government first intervened because of high infant mortality rates and tuberculosis. For the ^Vast majority, however, the improvement is debatable. Many wish that they had never given up their "shacks".

This is the crux of the other difference, that between Native and non-Native. When you demand and expect a "benefit" and are not given a "subsidy", you are not really dependent, but only transient. You can demand more or, if you don't like the situation, you can leave and probably have your moving expenses paid for. I would like to mention a few general points on this and then, briefly to set out the recent housing history of the Native people in Inuvik and Fort Simpson.

Northern communities tend to have a distinct division: the well-built, serviced non-Native sector and the small, poor quality houses and honey buckets of the Native sector. Unlike non-Natives, the Natives are not particularly concerned about the aesthetics of housing. It is, however, the background of disruption and misunderstanding which the differences in housing and servicing represent, that concerns them and has bred dependence and enmity.

To begin with, staff housing is of much better quality than public housing, but it is also better maintained. It is difficult to get repairs on public housing in Inuvik and virtually impossible in Fort Simpson - the man in charge lives in Fort Smith. Because I am not qualified to speak on structural matters and because many of the problems are fairly visible, I will only mention the case of one of the newer prefab models used in Fort Simpson. It has only one

door and the oil burner is right beside it. Originally, this same model had hot air ducts along the ceiling. There would be periodic blasts of hot air on people's heads and meanwhile, the floor was freezing. Finally, the ducts were put under the floor, but only after cutting big holes in the main 2 x 6 supports of the house. Some of the units are now literally coming apart at the seams.

Both federal and territorial governments are supposed to be making an effort to hire Natives. People hired locally are not eligible for any federal housing "benefits" or other allowances. Some get around the problem by going to Edmonton to be hired. The territorial government has just recently changed their policy and now, all are eligible. However, if the woman is the government employee and wishes housing (the husband may be a trapper, or whatever), the couple must make a declaration that the woman is the head of household. This would be contentious for most couples in the "liberated" South, but in a traditional society, it is almost beyond comprehension. In public housing, rent payable is based on total adjusted family income; in staff housing, only the head of household's income is counted.

When the new town of Inuvik was being developed, government officials encouraged people to move there by saying that they would receive land and a new home in return for their old one in Aklavik. But, right from the beginning the differences were obvious. Few, if any Natives got land on the utilidor; Native housing was small and government housing was spacious. People were told of deeds, rent-to-purchase, options on land, etc., which meant nothing to most of them who had always provided their own housing. Some were not even aware the "512's" could be purchased. Of those who did know and understand, some lost their options because records were lost when the housing was transferred from federal responsibility to the new territorial Housing Corporation.

In 1967, those having property were told that they must build a house within two years or they would have to forfeit it. By then, costs were too high for all but a few and there were no loan programmes even to purchase the materials and build a house themselves.

Some Eskimos did form a co-operative in the early 60's. The government said that they could have the land required. Their first two choices which were near the utilidor were somehow not suitable or available for residential development. Other land was provided along with the promise that it would soon be serviced. It took nine years to get full servicing. To reduce their costs, the co-op wanted to buy "Atco" prefabs which were only \$12,000 in 1963. They were told that "garbage" houses were not allowed. Now, all public housing units are the inexpensive prefabs and there are house trailers throughout the Native sector.

There has, in fact, been considerable integration in the traditionally Native sector and some Natives who work for government do live in staff housing. The utilidor has been extended and virtually all the mobile homes are serviced, but the old government-owned low rental units are still unserviced.

The flood in Fort Simpson in 1963 precipitated basically the same series of events that followed the move to Inuvik from Aklavik. Virtually all of the Native homes were Flooded. A few were moved and the people continued to live in them; others were "given" new houses. The ones dating from this time usually need extensive repairs and are still unserviced although the sewer and water mains are installed. As mentioned, the people have had to pay nothing for these houses or the utilities. When some of them decided to pay for the sewer and water connectors themselves, they were informed that they would then have to start paying rent.

All of this is not to say that the Native people believe that the government purposely set out to misrepresent their programmes, to induce the dependencies, etc. But, they cannot help but see the inequities and realize that self-respect is inevitably lost because of the dependence. Their viewpoint is that southern-made programmes and housing are not the answer because not only do they perpetuate the problem, but also they probably caused them. In sum, the North is dependent on the South and the Native dependent on the non-Native.

My basic assumption then, is that such dependencies are not healthy either for the economy or for the individuals. Therefore, government programmes, pipeline developments and so on should be evaluated on the basis of whether and how they correct these imbalances.

Canadian Arctic Gas implicitly assumes that entrepreneurial development of the North is not only necessary, but also beneficial to the North and Northerners. Specifically, they state that their activities:

"...will not tend to increase the effective pressure on housing and related facilities because a) the policy of the Applicant is to avoid intensifying existing problems relative to housing, b) the increased construction consequent upon the activities of the Applicant will increase the ability of the construction industry to provide needed construction services and c) improved levels of income will impact favourably upon the adequacy of housing in the study region". (Section 14 c, p. 29.)

Even without involving my particular philosophic filter, let us see if the existing facts and opinions of experts support these assumptions.

The first is a tautology. They are saying, in effect that there will be no adverse effects because they, the Applicant will not let there be adverse

effects. The potential effects of a project as large as the pipeline cannot be controlled by managerial decree. Despite the fact that most workers on the Alaskan oil pipeline are unionized and a large campaign in the lower States to dissuade people from coming North on spec, Alyeska reported receiving 15 - 20 telephone calls and 10 - 12 walk-ins a day during the summer of 1973. These people need places to stay which increases the effective pressure on housing and related facilities.

Arctic Gas suggests that there will be no increased demand during the construction phase. But, in their report of November 1974, the Pipeline Application Assessment Group stated that: "It is realistic to expect that there will be some in-migration of pipeline personnel, government staff and prospective entrepreneurs even during pipeline construction." Even if there are relatively few of them, these are the very people who will create the highest demand, qualitatively speaking; that is, inflationary pressures.

This has been the case in Aberdeen, Scotland in the wake of North Sea drilling operations. According to personal communication with a native of that city, the system of rent controls in existence there for years broke down and an inflationary spiral was created by first, speculators and then, industry which would pay whatever they had to to house their personnel and to house them well. But, after saying that they will make no impact during construction, Arctic Gas promises that during the operation phase, they will work with appropriate levels of government to deal with any adverse effects. If they do, in fact allow that there may be some negative impact then, the possibilities must be dealt with now. In urban planning and in the North, "later" is too late.

The second assumption relates to the abilities of the construction industry. Although they do not expressly state it, I infer that they mean the local construction industry. But, as already mentioned, there is not really what

one could call a residential construction "industry" in the North. Local firms cannot compete with Edmonton firms even now. Both the Government Assessment Group and the Chamber of Commerce of the NWT expressed doubt as to how much local businesses would be able to benefit from pipeline related activities.

In the first place, Northern businesses do not generally have the capital assets either to field enough men and equipment or to post the performance bonds which will undoubtedly be required. And local craftsmen, the few that there are may find pipeline work more profitable since small businesses cannot afford the same wages as multinational corporations. In any event, the need for rapid supply will probably mean increased use of mobile homes and prefabs which will not help local industry.

The third assumption is clearly the most complex. At a very simplistic level, it is true that increased incomes do "impact favourably" on the standard of living generally. We are better off now than we were during the industrial revolution. On the other hand, the Government Assessment Group pointed out that there is some apparent correlation between economic indigence and increased economic activity (p. 114). So, jobs and increased incomes are not a cure-all.

What information is required to assess whether increased incomes will or will not impact favourably? A series of four sub-issues must be addressed.

1. Will there be increased jobs and incomes for Northerners?
2. Will there actually be an increase in disposable incomes or will any increase be eroded by increased costs, that is, by pipeline-induced inflation?
3. Are government and industry able to control inflation and to meet current housing and housing-related demands let alone those caused by the pipeline?
4. Finally, and on a more philosophical plane, is it realistic to assume that Natives can or should take advantage of pipeline or pipeline-induced jobs?

It appears that the pipeline will definitely result in increased wages. Along with other major projects such as James Bay, the tar sands, northern highways, a tremendous demand for a relatively limited number of skilled people will be created. Newspapers report weekly wages of \$700 to \$1,000 in Alaska. Also, an economist with the Prices and Incomes Commission pointed out in a 1972 report that the construction industry is one of the most quantitatively important sectors for setting in motion emulatory wage effects in other sectors.

What is unclear, however, is how many jobs in total and how many permanent pipeline jobs will be available to Northerners. In doing their job projections, Van Ginkel Associates assumed that there is full employment of Northerners if a participation rate in the labour force of only 30 per cent is achieved. The actual participation rate in the Mackenzie District according to the 1971 Census is 70 per cent. In other words, it seems that those people responsible for hiring might be underestimating the demand for jobs in the North meaning that more Southerners would be hired than actually needed if Northerners are to have preference.

Because 71 per cent of the permanent pipeline operations jobs will be for skilled workers and there are relatively few in the North, it is highly unlikely that many Northerners will benefit from permanent high-paying jobs. Furthermore, wage inflation caused by the pipeline may hurt local businesses by enticing their workers to pipeline jobs or by forcing them into a competitive situation where they over-extend themselves. If this happens, then the number of permanent jobs and therefore, income security in general will be greatly reduced.

Next, a few facts, the considered opinions of economists and the truisms of the day make it clear that the pipeline can only worsen current inflationary trends. Exactly how this will impact on housing is difficult to say since the Northern market is unlike that of the South. Even if there is a boom in the North, there may still be a policy of austerity in the halls of power in Ottawa. The result may be that budgets for social services, including housing may be cut, removing the only protection for the large numbers of Northerners in subsidized housing.

In any event, I would like to quote Judith Maxwell, an economist with the C.D. Howe Institute. "What seems clear is that prices in the NWT will soar, even for ordinary commodities...any materials coming into the North will have to compete for transportation space, and that means paying a higher price." This would particularly affect building materials and prefabricated houses.

The Aberdeen experience indicates that the large companies involved in pipeline construction will pay whatever they have to for housing and this will set in motion inflationary expectations among property owners. In the early days, entrepreneurs may build multiple units looking for fast sales before the boom is over and maintenance costs cut deeply into profits. Also, there will probably be some speculative buying of properties. Low-income Natives who still have their own place will be subjected to considerable pressure to sell both for the money itself and for meeting increased costs. This will lead to even more crowding than exists now and for some, displacement to smaller settlements. Naturally, this will increase pressure on the already limited housing there. It has been and will likely continue to be the case that there is less possibility of government housing assistance there than in the larger centres.

Rental housing survey data from Fairbanks, Alaska show the number of units available and those available without restrictions on children, pets, smoking etc., decreasing by half from September '74 to October '75 and average rents for a furnished efficiency apartment have doubled. Rental for a furnished three bedroom house including utilities was \$1,200 a month in October 1975.

Government and industry have basically two ways of trying to fight inflation: controls and increased supply to meet the increased demand. The debate on the effectiveness and equity of controls goes on. Even if relatively good housing control measures could be instituted, there is usually always some room for illegal practices which produce hidden inflation. Also, if it is even remotely true that there is more emphasis on wage control than on price control, then, low-income Northerners in particular would suffer severely.

There seem to be as many estimates of supply and demand for housing as there are research papers. This can be largely attributed to the lack of reliable baseline data. For example, an actual count of housing units in Inuvik and Fort Simpson had not been done when I prepared my report and even the 1971 Census gives only population estimates.

"Shortfall" is a term meaning the difference between the number of housing units required and those available. Estimates of the current shortfall in Inuvik range from 120 to 380. Last year, NWT HC planned to provide 64 units of public housing and single person accommodation. At present, there is a slight housing surplus in Fort Simpson, but this does not allow for the need for replacements or the large number of units which are without services and/or over-crowded.

There is even more conjecture involved in estimating future demand with or without the pipeline. Employment and population projections of various researchers were analyzed using the assumption that housing demand will depend upon first, the total number of jobs generated and induced, secondly, on the proportion of jobs which will be permanent rather than temporary and thirdly, on the proportion of permanent jobs going to southerners.

The estimates generated by Van Ginkel for Arctic Gas were initially of interest because he was the only one to illustrate options concerning the permanent impact of the pipeline. But, the study assumes minimum in-migration which is untenable according to virtually all other reports. Secondly, it assumes that the excess of labour required over available northern manpower should either commute from outside the study region altogether or live in the communities of Fort Simpson, Norman Wells and Hay River. It is extremely difficult to understand why southerners required for Delta hydrocarbon jobs would settle anywhere except Delta communities, especially Inuvik which offers more southern

amenities than any of the other three. On the other hand, other assumptions concerning labour multipliers and additional households for each job seem over-stated.

In sum, none of the current estimates seemed worthy of adoption. True to form, this researcher derived her own estimates for future housing demand. They are based on the most simplistic assumption which divides the various population growth estimates by a density per unit figure of 3.5 to give the number of units required not including replacements. Normal growth estimates range from 84 to 120 units per year in Inuvik and 26 to 37 in Fort Simpson. With the pipeline, the ranges are 122 to 192 in Inuvik and 38 to 83 in Fort Simpson.

But these global figures give no indication of the relative importance of accomodation for transient and permanent populations and there is not much to go on here. A 1974 government report on Mackenzie Valley Development stated that there will be "...tremendous need for itinerant care during the development phases and suggested that buildings could be designed to meet that need and later, after the initial crash subsides, adapt to meet different community needs".

Foothills has promised to make available surplus camp dining and sleeping facilities to small communities after construction is complete. Again, "after" is too late to alleviate the worst of the potential housing crisis.

Both applicants have promised to provide staff housing in the settlements for permanent employees. As mentioned, it is this demand which could contribute most to the inflationary spiral. The settlements probably feel that they have no alternative but to sell land rather than to lease it in order to recoup quickly some of their high servicing costs and to increase

tax assessment. This is unfortunate because the County Councils of the Shetland Islands are apparently controlling development and inflation caused by North Sea operations fairly well by only leasing land.

At least on a superficial level, the physical planning seems to be well in hand in both Inuvik and Fort Simpson. The basic elements of the plan done by Franc1 Associates for the Village of Fort Simpson will probably remain while the details will be changed. The bulk of future development will be in mobile homes. On the mainland, Franc1 proposed that there be i) a permanent mobile home subdivision and ii) a mobile home park which would not be serviced by water and sewer mains and presumably would be removed after the construction boom. The subdivision on the other hand, would require careful planning including a comprehensive residents' code. Also, a majority of the trailer lots would be double in order to permit future conversion to other modes of housing or additions to the mobile home. Thirdly, it was recommended that high density housing of the town house and apartment type be built in the vicinity of centretown. Even with maximum growth to Franc1's estimate of 3,255 in 1981, it seems unlikely that these higher densities would be required, given almost unlimited developable land on the mainland. This type of development would also unduly disrupt the existing population. Simpson already has been described as a "village of dilemma, fear, tension and apprehension" by the settlement council chairman.

Inuvik Town Council is planning for growth of up to a total of 8,000 by 1980 and their chief concern is servicing because utilidor costs are so high. Within each area as it is developed, no more than 20 per cent of the lots can be purchased by government or the oil companies in order to promote better integration of the community. It should be mentioned that physical integration of the community may leave untouched or even exacerbate existing socio-economic problems.

Trailers will be allowed only in parks, however. People currently established on lots outside this area have signed affidavits saying that they will move once the lots are ready, but some cases will probably require court action before people actually move.

If the proposed pipeline is built, the issue of provision of gas to the communities will have to be resolved. The consensus of local people interviewed was that the Northern Canada Power Commission (a crown corporation) should convert its generators. Any large-scale conversion would be expensive, but obviously NCPC has extensive borrowing powers while, if left to individuals, conversion would be impossibly expensive.

But, the main problem confronting the settlements is to get enough money to improve and carry out their plans before a boom takes things out of their control.

Apart from staff housing, there are four territorial departments or agencies involved in Housing-related activities. There is the Petroleum Resources Development Committee of Council which has a sub-committee to overview and coordinate community planning and housing aspects of petroleum industry development. When my study was prepared, they had barely started work.

The Department of Local Government has several divisions, but three are of interest here: the Employment Division has established the Territorial Employment Record and Information System (TERIS) which will have completed a survey of employment in the Inuvik region within a few months. Overall planning of community budgeting is handled by the Municipal Affairs Division. The NWT government can borrow only up to \$4 million for disbursement to all municipalities. Town Planning and Lands co-ordinates and reviews all community plans. As a town, Inuvik is acting fairly autonomously, but increasing pressures might

induce them to seek advice. Fort Simpson still relies quite heavily on the Division although they receive accountable grants to hire their own consultants.

A study commissioned by the NWT Department of Economic Development and IAND recommends the establishment of a housing prefabrication industry in Hay River. That there is a potential market for housing is quite clear. What is not established is whether or not a considerable amount of money should be invested in prefab housing to the possible exclusion of more traditional types. Most existing prefabs in the North are generally ill-suited to the climate and thus not particularly liked by the inhabitants. Furthermore, it is probable that prefabs cost as much or more in the long run in terms of maintenance, energy costs, and early replacement than better conventional housing at slightly higher capital costs.

Naturally, the territorial agency most involved in housing is the Northwest Territories Housing Corporation. Most of the programmes available through them are cost-shared with Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, such as land assembly, sewage treatment and public housing.

The NWTHC does have two new programmes pending which seem promising. First, is the log housing method. A special lathe has been purchased (another may be soon) and five prototype buildings erected in Fort Providence. The advantages are that more local labour will be involved in their production and erection than with prefabs and that both capital and maintenance costs are lower than for prefabs.

However, there are problems. The equipment requires the exercise of absolute precision and a very carefully controlled environment; it should be able to produce one house package a day, so that plans for 100 units are a modest be-

ginning. Another advantage of the programme is that it could utilize local materials, but NWTHC is buying all the logs in British Columbia and does not seem to be taking steps to encourage local involvement. The Corporation has stated that surplus units will be available to private buyers, but at an as yet undisclosed price. Since the machine is not working well yet and the back-log of housing requirements is large, it is unlikely that any log house packages will be available privately for quite some time.

The other programme will hopefully soon be approved. It calls for an outright grant to potential homeowners, the amount to vary by location. This will be supplemented by a utilities subsidy to offset costs over a specified limit (either a specific rate for the electricity or fuel or above a certain percentage of income required). These programmes might also operate in tandem with the federal Assisted Home Ownership Program.

Costing estimates are not yet available but it is unlikely that the programme will be generous enough to induce many people to forego the "hidden" benefits of a housing allowance which, they have come to expect. If this is true of government staff, then the programme will in no way offer an alternative to public housing.

A more fundamental problem than the shortcomings of specific programmes arises at the policy level. NWTHC sees its first and really only priority as being housing for Northerners.

Unfortunately, it seems clear that the NWTHC cannot meet even the current housing demands of Northerners. The total estimated production for all of the NWT for the 1975 season was some 300 units of which about 64 were allocated to Inuvik while the Town's estimate of need was 120 units.

Thus, to summarize, we have seen that although wages will definitely increase, the extent to which Northerners will profit from the high-paying pipeline jobs remains debateable. Furthermore, there will definitely be considerable inflation caused by rapid pipeline development which will result in little net increase in disposable incomes. And local businesses may be irrevocably hurt by the inflationary spiral reducing the number of good, permanent jobs which would be extremely damaging to the economy.

Given the current level of planning, there seems to be little that can be done to prevent adverse effects. The effectiveness and equity of controls is dubious. Present housing programmes and production are inadequate to meet even current demand.

Let us now turn to the position of the Native people in all of this. Not many Natives are currently employed by the petroleum companies. According to the 1971 Census, the participation rate for Natives is about 19 per cent of the potential labour force and 33 per cent of the active labour force. But, in the petroleum industry in Inuvik, it is only 3.2 per cent. Secondly, there is neither a large number of skilled Natives now, nor could a significant number be trained before construction is expected to be completed. In February 1975, there were 78 Natives in Arctic Gas' training programme. Even if Natives were trained, it would be unlikely that they could pre-empt experienced Southerners already performing the job.

Assume for a moment that the Natives do wish to join the standard southern wage economy. Greater benefit would accrue to them from supporting the expansion of the North's economic base, that is, local enterprises which are labour-intensive rather than the pipeline and other resource developments which are capital-intensive. This type of expansion would reduce the North's dependence on the South.

But, what about the position of the Native vis-a-vis the non-Native? The Government Assessment Group stated in their report, "Yet, once the pipeline has been completed and the regional economy settles down to a more normal level of activity, it is unlikely that present inter-ethnic distributional patterns will have been altered greatly". (p.34) That, of course, is with development as currently conceived.

So, let us assume that there are alternatives for the Natives which would expand the Northern economic base. One example might be the formation of self-help co-operatives where work responsibilities can be rotated and communities could be mutually supportive. Whether they be for profit or non-profit, for housing only or multiservice is immaterial here. What is important is the fact that it is fairly common practice for co-ops to make their service or product available to non-members at a slightly higher cost in order to reduce their own costs. Thus, in the long run, Natives may not even want expansion of northern non-Native enterprises to the extent that this expansion would, in effect, support their potential competitors who already have the advantage.

This past year, Inuit Tapirisat conducted a pilot housing project with funding from the Rural and Native Housing Program of CMHC. This project and house type admittedly do not essentially correct the economic imbalances, but they do show that there are alternatives to the current situation, specifically in housing. Inuit Tapirisat felt confident to draw the following conclusions:

1. it is possible to involve the Inuit effectively in the planning, organizing, delivery and erection of the houses;

2. the houses appear to be of a good standard, somewhat better than the units provided by NWT HC and seem suited to the Inuit life style and climatic conditions;
3. there is a strong possibility that the houses could be delivered and erected in one season while it usually takes two for other types; and
4. it is expected that the actual cost will be less than \$44,000 per unit which is lower than that incurred by NWT HC for its models.

The situation whereby public housing is virtually the only option for Native people would seem unnecessary at best in a country such as Canada. Positive benefits will not accrue due only to the intrinsic value of the pipeline. Unless planning guidelines and mechanisms are firmly in place before construction begins, its extent and momentum will certainly limit options for meeting housing needs in a meaningful way. Furthermore, it is assumed that optimal planning and benefit will only come about if the overall goal of any development in the North is the reduction of external and internal dependencies.

In sum, the assumptions concerning housing made by Arctic Gas have been seen to be unfounded and therefore, any actions proposed by them to meet and alleviate probable impact would, in this context, probably be ineffective.

What actions are necessary and possible?

As a minimum, it is suggested that any guidelines adopted for planning housing measures should incorporate the following elements:

- i) discrimination with respect to existing housing benefits should be eliminated;
- ii) the development of local materials should be encouraged thereby both providing employment and reducing the need for high cost importation;
- iii) maximum utilization of local people is also essential and to this end, training programmes should be expanded and improved where needed;

iv) most importantly, Native people must have the opportunity either to develop their own programmes or to be deeply involved in the planning of new programmes and mechanisms whereby acceptable housing at a price they can afford is available.

That is, to reduce their dependence and thereby, effectively to improve their economic position, the Natives should have the opportunity of establishing their own materials, labour and capital as alternatives to the current supply.

As well, there are possible actions which government and industry could and should take to relieve the pressure of inflation in the North. Most of this discussion is conjecture because there are few, if any housing economists who understand the Northern market; there are no experts in this area.

In summary, housing inflation in the Northern context does not affect individuals as generally as it does in the South because of the housing benefits system. As long as government and industry are prepared to pay any price for housing their personnel and do not seek counter measures, they will feel the effects of and contribute to inflation. The spiral is exacerbated by a constricted housing supply because few can afford to compete in the provision of accommodation. Short supply is thus both cause and effect.

To combat this, government and industry should be more cost conscious in the provision of staff housing. Alternate structural forms, improved insulation and energy technology should be investigated. If costs are lower and there is real commitment to programs, homeownership would become more realistic and the market more stable.

Industry should provide temporary housing for the influx of casual job seekers which is inevitable in the light of the Alaskan experience. This would reduce pressure on the very limited rental stock in Inuvik and help to induce lower rents in both Inuvik and Fort Simpson.

Although there is currently a slight surplus of serviced land available in both communities, money for land development should be provided if the pipeline is approved. In the North, especially in permafrost areas, the availability of serviced land is probably the most crucial aspect of housing supply, requiring the most lead time and capital outlay.

Finally, the problem of adequate barge shipping facilities must be repeated. If there is a housing shortfall in the first year of pipeline construction, it is quite likely that the economic and social effects of such a shortage would take years to offset, if ever.

The truism that the urban situation in general and housing in particular is complex and therefore, not sensitive to uni-dimensional solutions also bears repeating. The attempt to increase supply should involve several strategies and should be complemented by efforts to control demand. Rent controls, especially in a boom economy are probably unworkable. The simplest and possibly best control on long-term development is through land leasing by the municipalities rather than sale. Not only is the specific use of the property controlled, but also a large element of the speculative gain is eliminated or at least minimized. If the municipalities are unable to meet payments on the loans etc. for their land banking and servicing through leases rather than sale then, special funds should be allocated to give them this option. Any program of controls however, requires careful planning and implementation. Government should make available the resources for such planning.

In conclusion, the housing situation in the face of pipeline and other resource development is analogous to that of many of the ecological problems : not enough is currently known except that there is a fine balance between health of the system and disaster and once the experiment has been tried, there is no going back. Time and careful planning are the most important preventatives of disaster.

Primary document relied on:

"The Impact of the Proposed Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline on Housing in Inuvik and Fort Simpson" - prepared by L. Clarke for COPE, the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT and the Metis Association of the NWT, April 1975.

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EDUCATION: Honours Senior Matriculation - Arts, 1965,
St. Marys District Collegiate and
Vocational Institute.

Honours B.A., Psychology, 1969,
University of Western Ontario, London.

Diplôme Semestriel de Langue et Civilisation
Françaises, 1972.
La Sorbonne, Paris.

WORK EXPERIENCE:

Since graduation, I have worked as a research consultant, primarily in the area of urban policy research.

April 21 - August 16, 1975 - Community Housing Division,
Central Mortgage and Housing
Corporation,
Ottawa, Ontario.
"Twelve Community Housing Group
Profiles".

The work, entirely undertaken by the consultant, consisted of several weeks of field work interviewing members of the twelve groups as well as people in government and private agencies associated with the projects. Analysis of the profiles sought to isolate general trends and problems which could, through change or increased efficiency, increase unit production in the third sector.

January - March 31, 1975 - Committee for Original People's
Entitlement (Inuvik),
Northwest Territories Indian Brother-
hood and Metis Association of the NWT.
"Impact of the Proposed Mackenzie
Valley Gas Pipeline on Housing in
Inuvik and Fort Simpson".

The report produced is for presentation to the Berger Inquiry and had to fulfill several functions: to give as much factual information on the actual housing situation as is available and analyze the potential impact from a planning perspective; to convey the attitudes and concerns of the native people themselves about their future housing alternatives; to address Canadian Arctic Gas' assumptions on housing in the light of both the factual and attitudinal considerations. I was responsible for the whole of the report.

June - December 1, 1974 - Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa.

This was a contract to serve as a liaison person between CMHC and Health and Welfare Canada in the area of housing subsidies and income supplementation. I did papers on the nature of the program and policy overlap, strategies to be employed by CMHC in dealing with these, and descriptions of various areas such as the Guaranteed Annual Income Experiment in Manitoba, rent supplement programs and proposals, etc.

July - August, 1973 - Dr. Jack Happy, CMHC research grant on "Guidelines for Part V Funding of Citizens' Groups".

I was responsible for extensive interviewing of 14 citizens' groups across the country to serve as the background information for the evaluation.

February - May, 1973 - Mr. Dale Bairstow, CMHC research grant on "Demographic and Economic Aspects of Housing Canada's Elderly" (now published).

For this publication, I wrote the chapter entitled "Planning for the Elderly", did the annotated bibliography as well as some of the data gathering and manipulation, and served as editor.

October - November, 1972 - Environics Research Group, Toronto, Ontario.

I administered a survey, in french and english, on students' attitudes toward the quality of education in Ontario in about twenty secondary schools in eastern and northern Ontario. The survey was part of a major report for the Ontario Department of Education.

September - October, 1972 - Mr. Peter Spurr, CMHC research grant on "Preliminary Land Study".

A brief review of the Canadian literature was my major task.

July 1970 - August, 1971 - Mr. Glen Milne, Urban Assistance
Research Group, CMHC.

My duties varied considerably over the course of
the project, but my principal areas of interest
were community development and federal urban
resources.

Major research papers (unpublished):
Community Development in Canada. - A Background
Paper and Proposal,
Resources and Co-ordination for Federal Urban
Assistance.

PUBLICATION: Partington, J.T. and Louise Clarke, "Personality
Impression Formation: A correlational - Experi-
mental Design", Canadian Journal of Behavioural
Science, 3(1), 1970, pp. 45-54.

TRAVEL: Extensive experience in Europe, Africa (West and
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LANGUAGES: Read, write and speak French;
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CAV!
Received for
Steve 1976

SUBMISSION OF

Ralph Currie

TO THE BERGER INQUIRY

Presented on behalf of COPE
September, 1976
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

"Alternative Development
Possibilities".

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

It is an honour to be called by this Commission to give testimony and I wish to thank the Eskimo People for having approached me and for having brought my name to your attention.

As an employee of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, I am required to make the following statement:

I have spoken with my supervisors and they have advised me that I am free to testify.

I may give any evidence as to facts within my field, unless notified by the Minister that they be withheld on Crown Privilege on certain facts given me in confidence by private parties which might be injurious to reveal to the public.

Although it is the policy of the government that to the extent sought and requested, I am free to express opinion, it must be understood that the answers are my personal views and do not represent the views of the department.

I request the right to decline to answer questions seeking to ascertain specific advice I may have expressed to the Minister or to the government and to ask permission to decline to answer any question seeking the policy of the government. If the Commission feels the question should be answered, I request permission to consult with my superiors, who might decide the Attorney General should be contacted with a view to counsel and instruction to make appropriate and proper representation to the Commission in respect to the questions objected to.

Many parts of Canada, including the undeveloped N.W.T., contain renewable resources which, if sought out, identified and managed scientifically, could become important new reservoirs of food and be of increasing and enduring benefit to the native northern people.

As world populations increase every day, it becomes more imperative that every country should prepare its plans and begin to bring every section of its environment to maximum productivity. It is a global responsibility.

Those who contend that the old way of life is dying in the North and that the renewable resource base and the harvests are minimal are only looking at the North as it is today.

If scientists and biologists analyzed the land, fresh water and marine habitat, and worked with the people in programs where their knowledge is put to developmental use, in a very few years startling improvements could be made in the value of the renewable resources of the environment.

The north as it is today could be transformed if and when the proper approaches are taken. Time is running out and action is needed.

In the Beaufort Sea there are fish populations that can be developed, spawned and reared to market size. Herring, cod, inconnu, crab, shrimp, char and many other species are known to exist. In the marine environment no attempt has ever been made to work out such programs. But the potential is in the sea, as it is in the sprawling channels of the mighty Mackenzie and it is in the fruits, herbs and plants that cover the coastal plains, and it is in the animals and birds that survive without any assistance.

will not be known until it is developed.

A small portion of the mind-boggling sums which have been made available for the search for oil, a non-renewable resource, would give competent, determined scientists and the native people a meaningful start in this direction.

The marine biological system must be considered and protected from the peril of damage and destruction which can occur if oil explodes to spread a blanket of death over the estuaries of the Mackenzie and the Beaufort Sea. It can spread far beyond this area as you have heard, interfering with the supply of oxygen and fouling the habitat of birds and mammals.

I would like to tell you how renewable resource development is being undertaken in the Bras d'Or Lakes of Cape Breton. I assure you it is relevant for even though Cape Breton is far to the south and east of us, the principles of scientific environmental development now in action there can, and must, be brought to bear on many parts of the north, and certainly these principles can and must be applied to the Yukon Littoral.

Because we are a few people living in the second largest country in the world, with two great oceans, and nearly 15% of the fresh water of the world, we have managed to survive even though we are probably the world's worst housekeepers. We have dealt blow after blow to our natural resources and used, and continue to use, them in a manner what would have long ago bankrupted countries with less land and sea and far greater populations totally dependent on the proper use of these restricted resources for their survival.

We have pillaged our forests, mutilated our inland and ocean

fisheries, polluted our lakes and rivers. We have played havoc with our resources in the places we are working today knowing that there were virgin areas beyond the horizons that we could attack tomorrow in our headlong conquest of nature.

That type of onslaught on our ocean resources has brought our wild fish stocks down to levels where many species have been virtually wiped out, and many others are endangered. The rapid decline in off-shore fish has forced the government to inject annually increasing subsidies to keep the industry going. Annually decreasing catches from once teeming but now nearly empty fishing grounds is forcing thousands of maritime fishermen out of their historic occupation.

NOW -- let us look at the Bras d'Or Lakes of Cape Breton, an almost landlocked inland sea with a surface area of about 450 square miles. The Bras d'Or might be compared to the Husky Lakes in some ways.

The Bras d'Or Lakes was a rich oyster area and mounds of shells yet remain around the old camp sites, testifying to the fact that for thousands of years the Micmac Indians relied heavily upon them as a source of nutritious food. By 1966 the oyster stocks had been almost wiped out --- as had many of the fish species --- through continual and increasing harvesting. Where hundreds of fishermen had once seasonally engaged in the fishery, only a handful remained. The Bras d'Or was exhausted and hundreds of people had moved to other parts of the country to make a living.

In 1967 a group of Micmac Indians from the Eskasoni Reserve formed a study club under the leadership of Fred Young. They met regularly each week for nearly three years to discuss the

fate of the oysters and to study ways and means of resurrecting the stocks. (It is important to note that until the Micmacs took action the Bras d'Or Lakes had for years been written off as of no importance.)

No one had ever looked at the massive potential that moved silent and invisible in the clear blue depths. Dr. M.M. Coady, the dynamic priest of St. Francis Xavier University was the exception. In 1930 he told the people around Bras d'Or they were making a commendable effort cultivating the 8 to 10 inches of topsoil on rocky Cape Breton but they were ignoring the massive blue prairies of water confronting them. He forecast that marine farming, the cultivation of the lakes along scientific lines would one day produce more food than all the land in Cape Breton. No one understood him --- no one took action --- not the people --- not the Department of Fisheries. Everyone in Cape Breton was thinking about the non-renewable resources of coal, steel, sypsum, even as most people now seem to be hypnotized with the search for oil. No one was thinking about the renewable resources of the Bras d'Or Lakes and in this situation, I suspect even less people are aware of the potential of the renewable resources of the Beaufort Sea -- indeed, of the whole Western Arctic.

But the Micmacs were awake and their own natural wisdom, coupled with the scientific pamphlets they had studied, had given them a picture of the billions of eggs spawned by oysters each summer, eggs that, fertilized by the male sperm, became billions of swimming larvae. They knew of this prolific reproduction but they also knew that only a fraction of the young oysters survived. They were determined men, pioneers, dedicated to the task of creating conditions in the lake whereby millions of oysters could be saved, grown to maturity, processed and sold as rich food.

I was sent to Eskasoni in 1969 at the request of the Band Council. My terms of reference were to find out what the people wanted to do and help them do it. I was a harvester of the sea as five generations of my people had been before me. I knew nothing about oysters or marine farming, or about the invisible potential of the sea. This I admitted in my first meeting with the people. I told them that I had only discovered the word "spat" meant young oysters by reading a pamphlet a week ago. All my life I only knew the word was the past tense of the verb "to spit".

This was unimportant. What we had to do was seek out scientists and biologists who knew everything about oysters and to get them to ally themselves with the Micmacs. We set out and by the end of a month we had knocked on many doors, visited every research station in the Maritimes. We were disappointed to find scores of fisheries experts negative and unresponsive. They seemed annoyed at this invasion by scientifically illiterate people pressing for an action program in what they seemed to regard as their private domain.

But we found what we were looking for -- four men, two of whom were the most knowledgeable scientists in North America on oysters and the marine environment. They went to work with the Indians and, with funds supplied by the Department of Indian Affairs, the Eskasoni oyster farming project got under way.

The key man was Dr. Roy Drinnan. He gave the Indians the concept of catching and growing oysters on strings of scallop shells suspended from rafts floating on the surface, where food is plentiful and ^{where} they are safe from their mortal enemies, the starfish. We had been confined in our thinking to the use of the very limited hard bottom areas of the lake. The floatation concept raised our sites and expanded our potential

oyster farming areas to include every protected area of the 450 square miles of the lakes' surface.

In 1972 the Indians sent a delegation to Japan and, for two weeks they saw the highly developed oyster floatation systems in action. They saw extensive inland seas covered with oyster rafts. They saw the dreams they had of the Bras d'Or Lakes a reality in Japan.

By now they had millions of young oysters growing. Encouraged by their progress and ready to share their knowledge, the Eskasoni people prepared a brief and sent it to all provincial and federal leaders. They outlined what they had accomplished in two years. They asked that the whole Bras d'Or be considered for a major thrust in marine farming of oysters and of all other species. The presentation received unanimous public support and gained official interest.

Jaan Marchand, who was then Minister of DREE, advised that his department was extremely interested and would support such a program. Shortly after, Tom Kent became President of the Cape Breton Development Corporation (DEVCO), a finger of DREE in the island. He moved quickly and established the DEVCO Marine Farming Division.

A significant change has taken place in the past 6 years. What was regarded as a worthless waste of water is now under active cultivation. Five Indian co-operatives, the DEVCO Marine Farming Division and scores of groups and individuals are engaged in oyster and trout farming. Dr. Coady's forecast is coming true.

Hundreds of oyster rafts dot the lakes and captive trout cages float off several acclimatization sites. Trout hatcheries are being constructed and hatcheries what have been closed for years are being reactivated. They are needed to produce

fish from disease-free eggs to stock the sea farms. The development is gaining momentum.

The College of Cape Breton has formed the Bras d'Or Acquacultural Institute and at their last conference over 200 fisheries' scientists and biologists attended and many people from the Canadian, U.S. and foreign fishing industries were there too. They have published a valuable book, scientifically oriented, of the past, present and future of the Bras d'Or area. The Bras d'Or enterprise, started by the Micmacs, is attracting international attention.

Plans are underway for the construction of an Acquacultural Institute on the lake edge. A presentation is being prepared for government requesting that a new dynamic department be set up and staffed by a determined, dynamic, forward-looking breed of scientists with the sole responsibility of taking the results of years of research now reposing in the archives and translating it into action programs in the sea.

This demonstration should be carried out on a commercial scale with every possible species of fish in at least two coastal zones set aside as designated areas in each of the Maritime provinces. The experience gained can be used to set up similar sea farms along our whole coastline.

To sum up, the people and the scientists are hard at work making Bras d'Or into the richest piece of water in North America. They are creating a bold new modern industry that will, within 10 years, be producing thousands of tons of sea food and will be providing meaningful employment and income for hundreds of people. Despite problems that are bound to impede them, they will succeed!

Prior to 1969 the whole thrust for new development in Cape Breton had been in the direction of the establishment of new and often exotic industries. Large sums of money were injected into projects quite unsuitable to the area, many of which failed. Now a natural resource has been identified by the people. There is nothing exotic about it --- it is pure maritime, and the fishermen and the general public are intensely interested and proud of the progress being made.

If any type of new industry were suggested that might endanger the Bras d'Or environment, there would be militant opposition from every direction. Even as the Eskimos and Indians stand at the gates striving to protect their land and sea against possible disruption, so would the Cape Bretoners defend their newly discovered resource, and the fish farmers would receive all the protection needed to carry out their program in safety.

In many respects the Indian and Eskimos are like the Micmacs of Bras d'Or. They may be more aware of the resources and more interested in their development than we realize. Has the potential ever been thoroughly investigated and a program of enhancement ever been undertaken by people and scientists? Have any concrete comprehensive programs ever been undertaken? In 1963 I spent November and December working with the Indians and Eskimos of Inuvik and Aklavik investigating the renewable resources of the Yukon coast and Hershel Island in order to assess what role the local people from the Mackenzie Delta might play in their exploitation.

It was a rough time of year to do a survey and most of my information was supplied by the people, many of whom were interested in the possibilities of the development of permanent and seasonal satellite settlements. Here is a list of the resources they identified --- white whales, seals, arctic char, cisco and blue herring, inconnu, whitefish and trout, bowhead whales, caribou,

polar bears, white foxes, barren ground grizzly, king crab, moose, geese, ptarmigan and numerous edible plants and fruits. (Over 200 species of wild flowers bloom on Hershel Island.)

Hershel Island was chosen by the people as the most suitable location for a permanent settlement. Ten families wanted to be part of the permanent settlement which would have cost around \$450,000. The alternate plan was for two years of seasonal camps at Hershel to test the validity of the permanent site. Ten families were to be involved in this plan which would have cost around \$84,000 the first year and \$59,500 the second year.

I understand that the seasonal plan was adopted. Apparently there were vexing problems encountered in logistics and I doubt that the project was ever satisfactorily operated. It does not matter --- its time will come soon. Perhaps we lit a penny candle from a star.

In that situation we only looked at what were safe, sustainable yields. We did not even consider resource enhancement. To my knowledge now there is not a project of the nature and extent of the Bras d'Or program anywhere on this continent. Certainly I have not heard of this kind of development in the Northwest Territories. It seems that we regard our northern seas as areas of low productivity--present and potential--and tend to regard them as poor compared to southern waters.

But is that the case? Who really knows? We always seem to look at the North through the wrong end of a spy glass. The Indians and Eskimos know the real value of their renewable resources better than anyone. We may be overlooking the potential as all but the Micmacs overlooked the potential of the Bras d'Or Lakes area.

Only the native people know the great tides of life that run in the mighty Mackenzie and around the Yukon coast. Only they truly understand how hospitable the North can be. Most of us are burning with zeal to conquer nature, even though our southern areas contain thousands of square miles of land and water reduced to ruins through brutal exploitations, brutal conquest.

The North has kept us pretty much at bay. But in this situation, we are maximizing the urgency of our need and minimizing the dangers, maximizing the quick cash and jobs in a crash program of exploitation and construction and minimizing and rationalizing the long term destructive effects it may have on the people and on the environment.

Today, I look back on this effort and I say --- satellite settlements, yes --- but scientific satellite settlements with dedicated brilliant men and women working with the native people, invigorating the north through seeding, cultivating, harvesting --- welding the whole ecological system together, probing the future --- advance posts of science and civilization. If we put our hands to this we could never turn back. Perhaps we can move this concept forward in the North because it is still there, still virgin. All the test fishing we have done, the tiny isolated projects we have carried out in harvesting, all the isolated scientific explorations, have given us the headlights we need to move ahead. Perhaps everything has conspired to halt our headlong rush and bring us to this situation at this point in time. Consider this well, put it before the native people, put it to the government, to the scientists and the men and women of spirit. This is our opportunity, our duty to set up a corporation, gather the most brilliant, indomitable scientists and administrators and begin this program. A network of scientific action centres could be built at strategic points along the shores and the islands of the Western Arctic.

There will be no possibility of spreading a blanket of death. There will be no drying up of the wells of life as there will surely be with the wells of oil. The native people will not be "joe boys" to construction projects and unemployed when the job is done. They will be fully employed for all time to come, on their own land, on their own terms, at one with the great, majestic rhythms of nature. Better to build northern towns on the strength and vitality of the renewable resources that are re-surgent. Better this than to imperil life in a great northern area for years to come for a temporary easement of our current energy problems.

Now, with your permission, I would like to make some comments that will perhaps be unacceptable to many people.

In my opinion, the Indians and Eskimos are being subjected to massive pressures to open the gates to their historic lands and to allow the southern powers to tap the store houses of fossil fuel. The native people, though they may be few in numbers, have, for thousands of years, been the proprietors of the north with powerful rights which must be respected.

The picture being presented to the majority of Canadians is lopsided. The over-powering publicity that enters the homes of every Canadian family who owns a television set, even through public address systems in Mirabel Airport I have been told, must prejudice the average Canadian in favour of quick exploitation. These high powered advertisements, if you like, show men and machines engaged in herculean tasks, building artificial islands in a hostile zone, committing mind-boggling sums of money all in the interest of spellbound oil hungry Canadians who are told that, if these operations are allowed to continue unhindered, they will save us from impending darkness and cold.

When, as unfrequently happens, the native people appear on the screen or talk on the CBC radio, I fear the great majority of viewers see them as conscientious objectors, as dogs in a manger, not able to develop their resources, unable to extract badly needed oil, trying to prevent or impede the valiant programs presented by the companies.

Let me tell you a story.

Whenever I hear the announcers blasting out their dramatic story of the herculean efforts being made by intrepid men to find oil, whenever I see colour television zeroing in on men of steel flinging around chains under harsh arctic conditions, I remember an incident that occurred in Frobisher Bay. Led by an ice breaker, seven 10,000 ton cargo ships were steaming slowing in through fairly thick and very heavy ice. It was 4:00 a.m. and I was leaning over the rail of the bridge. It was a scene to stir a man's blood; the wild red sky, the great ships with radars turning ceaselessly, the rhythm of the big diesels and the boom of steel prows striking ice. We certainly looked pretty. Then came a nasty sound like an angry bee approaching. It was an 18 foot canoe charging up the bay through the twisted channels of open water. There was the healthiest, happiest Eskimo I have ever seen at the helm with two beaming youngsters and a beautiful wife. The canoe was log loaded with seals and char. He came alongside, threw an arctic char to the cook and raced ahead of us to Frobisher. Not one of us on the ships was as at home and as happy as that family. We were in what we looked upon as a hostile environment; he was in his glory, enjoying the hospitality of his friendly surroundings.

The programs of the oil companies are clear and understandable. They have been developed, prepared, designed and presented by experts at tremendous expense. The Eskimos and Indians are perhaps not so expert or well equipped to make their presenta-

tion. But it is not in their lack of understanding of the circumstances facing them that the trouble lies. They understand it too well. It is not that they fail to explain clearly their concern. They do that with supreme clarity! The trouble lies rather in the southern Canadians' inability to understand their position or to understand what they are saying.

Perhaps we would be better able to see their point of view if we, the 24,000,000 of us, were facing a multitude of people who outnumbered us as southern Canadians outnumber the native people involved; an army of millions of people impatient with anything different from their concept of exploitation; people armed with all the means of communication, legal expertise, all the technical knowledge, all the machinery of government on their side. If we were standing guard at the gates of Canada as the Indians and Eskimos are defending the gates of the Northwest Territories, only if we could truly see ourselves in their minority predicament, can we comprehend the anxiety of the people and understand their concern for the fundamental rights and freedoms, and the sacred principles of self-determination they know are at stake in this historic situation.

No one can say we are facing a great population explosion and need more room. On both sides of our main north, south, east and west communication systems, there are hundreds of thousands of square miles of land and water containing resources greater than anything possessed by any other 24,000,000 people under the sun. With the exception of the cultivated land, scarcely any of these areas has ever been touched by sound management. We have sea resources in two great oceans which we are attacking as if they were our deadly enemies which we must, and will, annihilate. Every statistical communique proves we will soon be victorious.

There will be no fish left in the sea.

RABBIT CURRIE

Curriculum vitae

Present position (since 1971): Resource Development Officer, Maritime Region, Dept. Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Amherst, Nova Scotia.

Previous experience:

1931-40	Rural Reconstruction Supervisor, Newfoundland
1940-43	War Relocation Authority, Washington, D.C.
1946-48	Field representative, CARE, New York City
1948-53	Heavy equipment operator, instructor and superintendent in the Canadian Arctic, Newfoundland, New York and Pakistan.
1958-62	Superintendent, DEWline sealift, Eastern Arctic.
1962-71	Industrial Division, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, various positions in area economic surveys, projects, tourism and marketing.

Economic development experience includes development of fisheries, canneries, tourist facilities, soapstone, eiderdown, marine farming in Inuit communities in the Arctic and on Indian reserves on the prairies and in the maritimes.

Publications:

Western Ungava Area Economic Survey, Industrial Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, 1963.

The Yukon Territory Littoral - An Economic Development Programme, Industrial Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, 1964.

"Atlantic Fisheries Development Alliance", Canadian Fisherman and Ocean Science, 61(4), 1975, pp. 25-26.

Papers:

Proposal for "Atlantic Fisheries Development Alliance", given at Fisheries Conference sponsored by the Cape Breton Industrial Board of Trade, Sydney, N.S., April 1975.

The Time for Planting, given at Bras d'Or Lakes Aquaculture Conference, Sydney, N.S., June 1975.

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL ASPECTS

OF

NORTHERN SOCIETY AND LIFE

by

Douglas Dittrich

Evidence presented on behalf of C. O. P. E.

Presentation

to the

Berger Inquiry:

Social and Economic Phase

August, 1976

PRESENTATION TO THE MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

My name is Douglas Dittrich. I am an Anglican priest and live at 1099 Laroque Street in Kamloops, British Columbia where, since January 1, 1976, I have been Rector of St. George's Church.

I have a B.A. from the University of Toronto and am a graduate in Theology from Wycliffe College, Toronto. I lived in the Northwest Territories continuously from June 1962 until the end of December 1975. I made my first trips into the Territories in the years 1953 and 1954. In addition to my duties with The Anglican Church of Canada (Frobisher Bay 1962-1967; Inuvik 1967-1973), I took an active part in community affairs and matters concerning cultural development, particularly in relation to native residents.

Until December 31, 1975 I served as Secretary/Co-ordinator of the Northern Games Association from its inception in 1970, and as Secretary of the Inuvik Native Friendship Centre from its inception in 1971. For over two years, from October 1973 until December 1975, I was on a leave of absence from the Church, working full-time on these two projects in association with the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (C.O.P.E.).

I have an ongoing interest in northern, native, environmental and political affairs. Currently I am a member of the Arctic Institute of North America, the Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, the Canadian Nature Federation, and the Committee for an Independent Canada.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Commissioner: I have been called upon to speak on the potential social impact of the proposed Mackenzie Valley natural gas pipeline, with special reference to the cultural and recreational aspects of northern society and life.

I have made no scientific studies but I have observed, from the point of view of an intimate association with the local people, the effects of change and development on the North during the past 14 years.

An individual's language, culture, skills, values, history and traditions are all vital aspects of who a person is. If these are taken away or downgraded, both society and individuals suffer for it. The onrush of economic and social change into an area may confer certain benefits, but it is usually accompanied by processes which tend to dehumanize, rather than enrich, the lives of those caught in such circumstances.

Where the situation is such that individuals are prevented from living creatively, from expressing themselves positively, and from sharing their basic values and interests, the results will inevitably be negative and destructive. There is a great concern that the trends witnessed in recent years in the Canadian North will accelerate radically if all the proposed development is allowed to proceed uncontrolled. Drastic steps must be taken to provide realistic means and support to facilitate northern native people preserving those facets of life they themselves value and to insure that cultural development and creative recreation will become a fact rather than a theory.

Economic development and general human well-being and genuine progress can be compatible. Judging by past history, however, a great deal more care, thought, effort and preparation must be taken if tragedy and social malaise are to be avoided or at least minimized.

History tends to repeat itself. We have a great habit of failing to learn from our experiences and from our past mistakes. Thus we are prone to making the same errors and falling into the same traps over and over again. I urge you to consider what has already occurred as a result of the changes of the past few years and regard them as warning of the hazards and dangers that threaten northern life and northern people in the years ahead.

In reviewing some of the incidents I have observed, and in identifying some of my personal experiences, I am acutely sensitive to potential threats to the lifestyle and welfare of all those people who are likely to be further subjected to rapid development which can very easily become a scourge rather than a benefit if it gets out of control.

My perspective has been that of a Christian Minister, as one who moved North to work with the original inhabitants of this land, to share their sorrows as well as their joys.

I trust that my comments will serve to delineate some of the events and policies that have created the social situation that exists in the North today. By sharing my observations, I hope that you will have some material which will be helpful to you, sir, in formulating the recommendations that will be drafted as a result of your Inquiry.

I shall never forget the day in mid-May 1959 when, having just completed a trip from Toronto, the place I grew up, I stepped off an aircraft at Great Whale River, northern Quebec, and for the first time encountered a native community. Life was beginning to change for those people, but many of the old ways and customs still prevailed. I value the insights I gained from living and travelling and working with them. The languages and the cultures of the Inuit and Indian continued to survive. Recreation or lack of it was not a problem. There were always many things to do in what we, in non-native society, would call our leisure hours.

Eight years later, in 1967, I returned briefly to Great Whale River. I was disheartened and distressed by what I saw. The bruises of being a political football were very evident on the faces of the Cree and the Eskimo. The tussles among Federal Government departments concerning jurisdiction over native peoples were increasing. Provincial authorities now vied for a piece of the action. As so often has been the case, the hapless people were caught in the crossfire and reaped no benefits from programs that usually never got past the paper or theoretical stage. The Mid-Canada radar installation, built there in the mid-fifties, had left its scars on the community and was now abandoned.

For ten days I literally slept on the floor of a native home. I did not object to this. What I did object to was the almost total lack of adequate housing in general throughout the settlement. Tent-frames which were year-round homes during my previous stay were, in many cases, still in use. The millions of dollars spent on a defence project had left only negative effects on the local residents. The only testimony remaining was that of fewer jobs, more addiction to alcohol and an increased dependency on an alien system of governmental administration. The Co-op store provided

some outlet for local arts and crafts, but the real problem of human development and a viable lifestyle for the people was not being faced.

Where there are people there are opportunities. The tendency, however, as elsewhere, seemed to be to discourage people from a life on the land. Yet nothing was offered to replace the old ways. The inevitable school complex merely tended to create an unhealthy gulf between the old and the young.

For that community development had come and gone. It is almost unnecessary to offer the comment that the latter state was far worse than the former.

In 1962 I moved to Frobisher Bay - a settlement staggering from the triple knockout punches of radar stations, transpolar airline flights and the multi-million dollar American Strategic Air Command refueling base - built A.D. 1959; closed A.D. 1963; benefits to Frobisher Bay, in my opinion, nil. In 1961 the Canadian Government had applied the 'coup de grâce' and opened a cash and carry liquor outlet. It was my unhappy task, during the five years that followed my arrival, to bury many of the unfortunate victims of the tragedy and chaos that resulted from those events.

And what was the Government of Canada doing all this time? It most certainly was doing precious little to assist people to adjust to a wage economy - an economy and lifestyle they had neither asked for, nor really wanted, nor understood. Yes, Federal policies were extremely successful - successful in seducing the people in off their land; successful in initiating the dehumanizing processes that continue to cast a shadow of gloom over the town of Frobisher Bay in 1976.

The excitement of the birth of my first child was shared by a people who were themselves so frequently subjected to grief and despair because their offspring died in the cold and squalor of their shacktown. But despite all, there remained a general feeling of friendliness and openness and trust

towards the newcomer. This condition, by and large, no longer exists today.

Little or no encouragement was given to those who, in 1962, wanted to take positive steps to retain the good aspects of Inuit culture. Those who preferred to continue living on the land were shunned by government and forced, despite their efforts, to return to the town, a much more hostile environment for them than the open sea and rolling tundra of south Baffin. A news report this past April ^{14th} in the News of the North (Yellowknife) tells of these same people I knew, nearly 15 years later, attempting to carry on the struggle to maintain their culture. I admire their tenacity. I only hope that positive support is forthcoming. How long must it take?

With the rare exceptions, and I recall one or two government teachers who appreciated something of the people's relationship to their land and tried to be sensitive to this, the system imposed simply drove the now familiar wedge between the young and the old, and between the very body and the spirit of the individual. I have often remarked that physically people are existing here in the town but that mentally they are living elsewhere.

How do you heal the wounds caused by this sort of forced dichotomy? There are ways to "put it all together" in order that people get the best of both worlds -- the old and the new. But the intruder, in his stupidity and naivete always seemed to regard it as an "either-or" situation and never a "both-and" possibility.

As I began to learn their language and eat their food and travel with the hunter in search of seal or walrus or bear or caribou, I gained a respect for a culture and a love for a land. There were superior and admirable values inherent in the makeup of the people. Their traditions were ones of which they could be proud. But the newcomer said, either directly or by implication: this is the way it is going to be; this is how you are going to live, because it is a better way; this is how you are going to dress, because it is a better way; this is what your children are going to be taught, because it is better;

these are the games your children are going to play, because they are better. The intruder was arrogant, and the intruder was wrong! The intruder never took the time to discover who the people of the land really are and what they have to offer and what wisdom they have to share.

Schools were built and houses were erected, and telephones were installed and roads were plowed. Millions and millions of dollars were spent. And then millions more. Meanwhile the frustrated newcomer wondered why nothing seemed to work with these natives for whom he had come thousands of miles to share his expertise and wisdom. How unappreciative they appeared to be of all these 20th century wonders. We have taken your dogs and given you an amazing snow machine which you only have to feed in winter time. Marvel of marvels! In retrospect these were all a part of the thin edge of the wedge that was to bring a whole people to the brink of disaster, humanly and culturally.

The U.S. Air Force installed their huge gymnasium (for their own use, or the occasional Tommy Hunter show) and to offset any possible positive effects from that recreation area, a bar was built on every floor - this must be the main recreation of the newcomer, concluded the people of the land. This building still stands - presently the student residence at Frobisher Bay - a constant reminder of the sort of values that were thrust upon a beautiful and unsuspecting people.

With the exception of a number of the newcomers who participated in curling, the other chief recreation turned out to be bingo. Very soon bingo was big business, and suddenly the game of bingo was drawing off money, as it still does, that should have gone to children's clothing, to food, to housing, and to hunting equipment.

Young native people were now wandering around in a cultural limbo they did not understand. They became trapped in an environment to which they were unable to relate. Parents and grandparents were no longer motivated nor

able to teach them the traditional skills of the land. None of the generations was able to adjust to a strange and apparently irrelevant system of education. The curriculum content and the overall orientation of school staff generally missed the basic point of attempting to teach anybody anywhere anything. Start where the people are. Be sensitive to them as human beings. Discover something of their background and philosophy of life. Do not assume you are the one with all the answers, and possess the superior lifestyle and have a monopoly on the body of human knowledge. This may seem the obvious approach. Yet how seldom did we observe evidence of attitudes that truly reflect this kind of thinking. The frustration of the school classroom has had such a negative impact on so many individuals that one sometimes wonders why we bothered at all. If learning cannot be a positive and rewarding experience why inflict anyone with the process?

For both young and many of the older people the day was no longer occupied in carrying out the many tasks and chores of a hunting economy. Life consisted, either of meaningless projects which the newcomer thought of importance, or of sitting it out until something, somewhere happened. And when it did the catalyst was usually the bottle.

Those who know Frobisher Bay are familiar with the nearby Sylvia Grinnell River. Many of us know how, by stupidity and indifference and carelessness, huge garbage dumps and disposal areas for everything from honey bucket contents to large construction equipment were allowed to grow right next to its mouth. One of the potentially excellent recreational areas close to town - polluted, ravaged and abused. The Government-sponsored fishing cooperative, together with uncontrolled private fishing by transients, in a very few years, rapidly depleted that river of its historic magnificent run of the Arctic char.

Years went by and no attempts were made by the authorities to consult the people in any meaningful way on community development. One evening in

1965, Bryan Pearson, now Territorial Councillor, and I stood watching the smouldering remains of a local house which had just burned to the ground because of a lack of adequate fire protection equipment and trained firefighters. Then and there we determined that Frobisher Bay must have an elected representative Council and that the people who lived there must have a real say in their affairs and begin setting their own priorities.

Over a decade has passed; progress has been extremely slow. For a very long time any kind of useful support from Government was negligible. People became discouraged, time and time again, because the decision-making process always, it seemed, occurred a long, long way from them. Money was available to subsidize the fantastic infrastructure to maintain and coddle the transient community. Money was not available to provide positive programs to assist people to develop creative skills related to their own culture and lifestyle. Significant funding was rarely designated for adult education and recreation facilities. All this was the state of things at a time of unprecedented crisis for the people.

The Government Rehabilitation Centre was inhabited by disoriented and handicapped people from many Baffin region communities. The majority were soon so dependent upon the Centre that rehabilitation became rehabilitation simply to exist in that place indefinitely - caught in an institution from which there was no escape. It became a breeding ground for every social ill imaginable. I know; I lived next door.

Leisure time in the Arctic was how a fact of life. Yet programs for both adults and young people consisted primarily of the showing of Grade B, or was it Grade C, movies in the community hall. This hall was donated by the I.O.D.E. but no one every gave the people much direction as to how they could tap its potential. The values of Hollywood became ingrained in a people who were never given the opportunity to be exposed to anything else. We live with the results today.

In 1967 I moved to Inuvik. Although the land of the Mackenzie Delta is very different from that of Baffin Island, and the background of the native residents somewhat different, one was struck with the similarity of social conditions - the work had been thoroughly done - the disease had been spread, without favour, right across the top of the world.

By 1967 the lustre of the new Inuvik, officially unveiled to the world in the summer of 1961, had lost some of its shine. The excitement of a new town with a new life and unique qualities was beginning to wane. The non-native institutions of the transients were well-established. Socially and economically the newcomers were all set up. It was a town to be run as a town anywhere in southern Canada, by and for southerners. Recreation was geared to and run by those who had just arrived. The fact that others, the vast majority, were here first, and would always be here, was irrelevant to the new settlers. The ideal of three races living in unity and harmony in a model Arctic community was relegated to the tourist brochures.

Everything had been imposed; everything had been meticulously laid on; everything and everyone was programmed; whoever you were, you were expected to accept the alien ways and to inculcate the new values. Yet many sensed that those in control had no real long-term interest in the land or in those who call it their home. The imagery of the North as the proverbial ice-box to be raided, lingered forbiddingly. Instantly a people had been made dependent on a system and a way of life that was at best inept and impersonal. The bureaucracy that grew fat by feeding on itself was now entrenched. It was in the North but not of the North. The civil service of non-natives grew by leaps and bounds. The ordinary citizen never got to know who made all the decisions. He was completely oblivious as to who set the policies which affected his life, as to how appointments to office were made, and as to how people gained power and effective control of their own affairs.

The spring festival, Muskrat Jamboree, was transplanted from Aklavik to Inuvik. It very quickly died from the now rampant disease of "do-goodism". Outsiders thought it was their calling to organize local people to do their "native" thing, but on someone else's terms, of course and within someone else's time frame! Recreation consisted of a big booze-up appropriately flavoured with games of chance - designed, one would think, to degrade and dehumanize all who would get spun around by the wheel of quick fortune. The "maybe I can get something for nothing" world had arrived. Initiative had been successfully stifled. Individual pride and dignity had been well and truly buried.

The old Ingamo Association, a community organization consisting of a group of local native residents was struggling to revive itself when I came to Inuvik - struggling against many odds to do something that would meet the needs of the native people in the social, cultural and recreational areas. The money and other resources of Government were more attuned, however, to the newcomer's conception of a community centre. The hockey rink and the curling rink were to be built at great cost, and only after a comedy of errors had been played out. An expensive complex arose - one that was to serve only a segment of the population, that was far from being multi-purpose, that was a financial albatross around the necks of the ratepayers, and one that could only be utilized for a portion of each year.

When plans for the Arctic Winter Games were announced by the government in 1969, some people realized that this was a project geared to southern thinking, designed for a large measure of public relations for the Administration, and primarily for non-native activities and participation. It ignored all but the younger age groupings. On the other hand the native Northern Games have managed to provide something of a balance to this. Their story is well-documented.

*(Appended to this presentation is a copy of the 1975 Northern Games Booklet which contains the history and story of the Games since 1970).

Northern Games represented a reaction against this kind of imposed program, to the sort of attitudes to which native people have been so long subjected. The success of the Northern Games is widely known and recognized. They succeeded, but not without many struggles and roadblocks, and lack of adequate and realistic Government support. They succeeded because they both involved native people totally as participants, people of all ages, and drew them in as decision-makers. Northern Games was conceived in 1969, born in 1970, and became an example of what can be done to encourage and preserve cultural skills, values, arts and traditions - to preserve them as a positive force for human development in a situation where personal pride and self-esteem must be enhanced if the negative pressures and changes of today's North are to be withstood. One may have to learn to adapt to a degree, but it is only possible to do this successfully if one has confidence, has the opportunity to express one's convictions, and is able to work actively towards one's aspirations. Northern Games stands out, but much more should and could have been done over the years to accomplish the kinds of things they have done. Government has always been slow to respond to indigenous needs, preferring, it appears, to fund programs devised elsewhere and designed to meet the needs of essentially southern situations.

It has been a constant fight to maintain and implement relevant cultural and recreational programs. The T.E.S.T. ski program has been reasonably successful because of people involvement. There has been a paucity, however, of this type of activity. In the rush for highway by-passes, and in the frantic haste to cater to the demands of the developers, or "exploiters", as many are calling those who come into the country for reason of monetary gain alone, the Government can so easily ignore the needs of such programs. This was the case at Inuvik when the ski runs were effectively blocked off by road construction as the planning had given no thought for the long-term implications for the ski program. Major projects are too often initiated without the knowledge of the very people who are going to be directly affected.

A number of years ago, as a member of the Inuvik Town Council, I urged that the authorities refrain from giving away all the riverfront and protect the east branch, Boot Lake and Twin Lakes - waterways next to town. Surely the needs of local people must be considered and given some priority, I said. Surely the long-term recreational needs of the permanent citizens ought to be respected by the legislators. Industry comes and the access to the waterfront disappears. People space, camping space, boating space adjacent to the community - all very soon at an absolute premium, if they any longer exist at all. Huge tracts of riverfront property are quickly tied up by the large corporations, with Government as the facilitator. There is a lack of balanced planning because policies are implemented far from any local decision-making process and for the sake of expediency.

An in-town air strip at Inuvik is a safety hazard; a float plane base (at Shell or Long Lake) half-way to the M.O.T. airport is both a safety hazard and a source of uncontrolled industrial pollution. Airport (Dolomite) Lake itself, the only recreational area available to the average citizen who is not fortunate enough to own private transportation, is suddenly closed off and impounded within the airport reserve - a beauty spot to which access is being denied. That is, what was left of this picnic and camping area after the use of the quarry was allowed to go wild. This unrestricted use meant that some of the most scenic land close to Inuvik was systematically carted away by the truckload to build a highway no one locally asked for.

Now this highway is being constructed south from Inuvik, all the way to the Yukon Territory. What controls are there presently in force to prevent pollution, irresponsible shooting of wildlife, burning of bush land, and destruction of lakefront property along these miles running from Inuvik to Arctic Red River to Fort McPherson? A highway once built, and built without local consultation, rapidly opens up a fragile land to the ravages of careless intruders who generally demonstrate little regard for the long-term protection

of this land or for the welfare of those persons who call it their own.

People have recognized the need for a new and adequate native Friendship Centre at Inuvik to serve the Delta area - a facility where programs and services can be offered and co-ordinated to meet the specific needs of the local people.

*(Appended to this presentation is a copy of a brochure describing more about the proposed Friendship Centre at Inuvik).

The struggle to get the project underway and to obtain basic funding tends to discourage all but the most persistent. As I have said, governments can find millions of dollars for this and millions more for that, but are reluctant to give support to a project that will provide positive social and recreational alternatives for people; a project that will allow permanent residents to accept responsibility and be creative in their own cultural milieu. After so many years of frustration by those who saw the requirement for such a centre, and after receiving approval in principle for the project, surely wide support should be forthcoming.

In Inuvik a place is desperately needed where native people can feel at home, a centre where they can participate in the things they want to do, on their terms, and to emphasize the aspects of life that they regard as important. This is a time of crisis for the people of the Delta. Are we going to procrastinate again, as with Frobisher Bay, and other places, and try to sidestep the crisis, wringing our hands later, because too late we observe the results of change - change that comes like a cyclone and sweeps all before it.

Massive development brings with it inevitable social upheaval. If such is to be allowed then proper provision must be made for assisting local people to adjust to and benefit from it. Where people are able to participate in the running of their own affairs, a much healthier community will evolve. If we work towards more stability in the home and less frustration in the individual's life, the total community will ultimately benefit.

There must be specific provision made for funding the operations of native-run and organized recreational and cultural facilities and programs. Native people now have their own organizations. They have acquired the capability of implementing relevant and viable programs and services. The Government of Canada as well as industry and other agencies must recognize their responsibility to support native endeavours in a realistic and logical way. Not tomorrow when life will be that much more complex, but today while there is still opportunity to prepare for the additional changes and pressures that are around the corner.

Yes, people have many doubts about mammoth projects like pipelines because they have been through it all in microcosm already. They have known abandonment at a time of need; they have known indifference at a time of seeking; they have known broken promises at a time of crisis.

Modern technological knowhow may have something to contribute to northern development. But in the process let us not forget the contribution northerners themselves have to make. Let us use every means possible to support them in sharing positively and creatively in the future of their own land.

A man's ancestry and heritage merit respect and understanding. A man's values and traditions have their unique contribution to offer to the progress of northern society. A man's priorities and wishes for meaningful and enriching recreational and cultural expression need the support and encouragement of us all.

I trust, sir, that you will use the opportunity given you to make the strongest possible recommendation to the Federal Government and also advise the private sector that they attach some special priority to discharging their moral, if not their legal, obligation to support, to the fullest extent the cultural and recreational needs of northern people at this particular time.

Received 8/21/76

The Evidence of
Mayor Eben Hopson

Presented on behalf of COPE

MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry

September, 1976

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT
E. TATION PROGRAM

September 21, 1976

MAYOR EBEN HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY
ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE ARCTIC SLOPE INUPIAT WITH OIL
AND GAS DEVELOPMENT IN THE ARCTIC

Mr. Justice Berger, I appreciate this opportunity to testify before you distinguished forum to tell you about my perceptions of what is happening in the Arctic as a result of the discovery of large oil and gas reserves at Prudhoe Bay, and elsewhere along our Arctic coast. We in Alaska have heard a great deal about the work of the Berger Commission, and I want to tell you that I appreciate the way that you have approached your task. You have sought in your work the kind of broad point of view that will enable you to see the problem of safe and responsible Arctic oil and gas development in its true perspective. I realize that you are charged with focusing upon the problems of impact and dislocation that may result from gas pipeline construction, but you have correctly perceived that there is a whole host of associated problems for which your Inquiry has been the only responsible forum available to Inupiat and Indian citizens of the Northwest Territories. Your work has international importance, too, because your inquiry is documenting problems shared by the Arctic people of Canada, Alaska, and even Greenland. My staff and I have given this paper a great deal of thought, therefore, and I only wish now that I were able to be in Yellowknife today to deliver it personally, and respond to your questions.

My purpose in writing this paper is to share with you my impressions of the experience of our Arctic Slope Inupiat community of Alaska with Arctic oil and gas development. My hope is that our Inupiat people in Canada and Greenland will take notice and plan accordingly, and that government that serves us in Canada and Greenland will also take our experience and point of view into account.

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BEINGER INQUIRY

Oil and gas is no new thing among us. Not many people realize that our people have been heating their homes and cooking our food with oil for thousands of years. There are oil seeps throughout our region, and on our way to our hunting camps we would cut oil-saturated tundra into blocks. Returning from camp in the fall, we would collect these bricks of congealed pitch and tundra and burn them much the same way that urban homeowners use artificial particle logs sold in supermarkets for their fireplaces.

We've also traditionally used coal for fuel. It is estimated that our Arctic Slope region contains as much as one-third of the coal reserves of the United States. We Inupiat can prove aboriginal use of both our oil and coal for thousands of years. We had this fuel in such abundance on our land that it attracted national attention at a time in the United States when our political leaders were trying to extend American political and economic influence to other parts of the world, particularly in the Pacific. In the early part of this century, our Federal government created several naval petroleum reserves as part of an effort to insure that our Navy had access to fuel for its ships. Without asking us, for it was our land, our Federal government took 23,400,000 acres of land, an area roughly the size of the State of Indiana, from us, without any compensation, and designated it to be Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4, and this huge area came under the administration of the United States Navy. Not many people in America knew about this taking of our land in this fashion, and it wasn't until the infamous Teapot Dome scandal involving a Naval petroleum reserve in Wyoming that national attention was directed to these reserves, large tracts of valuable land taken from America's Native people without their consent.

Back in those days in America, you must remember, there wasn't much political sympathy with the notion of aboriginal land rights. It wasn't until 1936 that we Inupiat were made citizens of the United States. In those early days we were just beginning to understand the ways of our Federal government, and the full meaning of the creation of Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4, which we call NPR-4, didn't dawn upon us until much later. At the time, however, we wondered how our government planned to extract our coal and oil for use by the ships of the fleet.

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While NPR-4 was created in 1923, there was no effort made to explore the huge reserve for oil or gas until World War II. By then, our Navy has established a small research facility near Pt. Barrow, and associated exploratory drilling led to the discovery of natural gas in 1949, and the South Barrow gas field began its development. Gas was used to heat such Federal facilities as the hospital, the BIA school, and the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory, but we were not permitted to connect to gas to heat our homes. By 1949, I was in my 20's, and I can vividly recall the long, frustrating, 12-year struggle to get permission to hook our homes in Barrow to gas mains that criss-crossed Barrow through our back yards. Although it sounds incredible today, the Navy was absolutely implacable in its refusal to let us use our own natural gas to heat our homes, and it took us twelve full years to get approval for us to connect to gas. It took a special congressional authorization in 1963 to sell us our gas for \$.50 per million cubic feet, a very high price at the time, one intended to force us to help amortize the Navy's gas field development costs.

WWII brought oil field employment opportunities to Barrow, and many of our people have worked over the years in seismic exploration and gas field operations. Barrow was one of the first regional centers in rural Alaska to slide into the cash economy, and for a long time was the only village community with family incomes high enough for participation in Federal home mortgage insurance and loan programs. So, our experience with the oil industry and oil development dates back to WWII when exploration of NPR-4 began in 1944.

While our Indiana-sized NPR-4 was thought to contain sizeable oil and gas reserves, judging from surface evidence at least, its military status prevented normal commercial exploration and development. Such exploration as there was was managed by a small bureau at the Navy Department in Washington, D.C. with money appropriated for that purpose, but Congress never has appropriated nearly enough money to explore NPR-4 properly, so no serious effort was ever made to determine the true value of NPR-4. However, its development has become an important part of our national strategy to achieve energy self-sufficiency, and we are bracing for the impact. Whether oil exists in

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commercially-exploitable quantities remains to be seen. However, I hear many knowledgeable people say that NPR-4 may not contain as much oil and gas economically recoverable as it has long been assumed. However, this speculation might be being circulated to increase pressure upon our State and local governments to hold Beaufort Sea off-shore lease sales.

It took Statehood for Alaska to enable serious oil exploration in our State, and the first commercial oil field to be developed on the Kenai Peninsula, near Anchorage. With statehood, Alaska was entitled by Congress to select 105 million acres of Federally-owned land, that is to say land taken from Alaska's Native people with asking, or payment. Naturally, Alaska's State land official began selecting lands with the most immediate income potential, for our new State was very cash poor. These lands included the Kenai oil fields, and the land adjacent to NPR-4, for the Reserve, being military land, was not available for State selection. The land next to NPR-4 was Prudhoe Bay.

The potential benefits of oil and gas development on Native-owned lands was brought home to us when the Indian village of Tyonek, on the Kenai Peninsula, received several million dollars from gas leases. Tyonek, which had long suffered from poverty and destitution, was rebuilt with modern homes and utility systems and other community facilities in the mid-60's. In fact, some of this new Tyonek Indian oil wealth was used to finance the early operations of the Alaska Federation of Natives, which began uniting the various regional Native land claims into a single state-wide political movement during the last half of the 1960's.

I think you should know, however, that the people of Tyonek ran through their oil wealth in less than a decade, and today they are poor and on the dole once again, their wealth lost through poor investments made by their lawyers and consultants. Some people worry, with some justification, that this cycle will happen many time again throughout Alaska in our post-settlement period, but I am hopeful that it won't. There is no denying, however, that the chief beneficiaries of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act so far have been the lawyers. The experience of the Tyonek Indians with oil and gas development in their area is instructive, however, and should be carefully studied and documented.

The Kenai oil boom was a prelude to the Prudhoe Bay strike, and the development of the Prudhoe Bay oil field upon which so many are depending to ease the energy crisis in both Canada and the United States. Because we Inupiat had not lived in permanent communities in the Prudhoe Bay area for a long, long time, oil field development did not dislocate any of our people, although some of

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us lost fishing camps, and family graves were violated. Because the Federal government has transferred its title to Prudhoe Bay lands to the new State of Alaska, the State was able to lease this land to oil corporations for exploration. The land was leased for about \$25 per acre, and 12% royalty on production. We Inupiat, who owned this land, were not consulted by the Federal government or the the State government on any of these real estate transactions.

State land officials were very callous and uncaring, even ignorant, of the entire question of aboriginal land rights. Throughout rural Alaska, Native villagers saw the State select lands surrounding their villages without any consultation with them, and we began to hear the State talk about limiting subsistence hunting, and imposing other limitations on our use of our land. This caused, in every region of rural Alaska, land claims organization to begin. One of the things I am trying to say in this paper is that our Native land claims is an integral part of oil and gas development in Alaska, and this is also true for Canada and Greenland.

In our Arctic Slope region, the Arctic Slope Native Association was organized in 1964, and we filed a formal protest against transfer of Federal land within our region to the State of Alaska. We claimed aboriginal title to all of the 88,581 square miles within our region. Other regional Native associations were organized, and followed our example, thus casting a cloud over the legal title of all of the land of rural Alaska. This brought all Federal land title transfers in Alaska to a halt, and in 1968, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall imposed an official land freeze that was to remain in effect until the entire Native land claims question was answered, either in the courts or in Congress. Unfortunately, our action was too late to save our title to the Prudhoe Bay oil field, Federal title having already been passed to the State of Alaska.

I repeat. In all this, we were never consulted. After the State leased our land to the oil corporations, they moved onto our land to behave in ways that would never be permitted today. Gravel, a most precious commodity in the Arctic, was removed from river beds and beaches without proper regard to

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environmental impact. The gravel was used to build roads and pads over our old graveyards, and our sod houses at our fishing and summer camps were destroyed. Fish spawning areas were destroyed, and fish were killed during seismic exploration in our lakes. The ancient caribou migration routes began being disturbed along our coast, and many of us feel that Prudhoe Bay and associated pipeline construction is to blame for what appears to our State game biologists to be a serious decline in our caribou herds. Our land began being littered by the junk of oil exploration. We suffered serious trespass.

In fact, our Federal courts have upheld the *Edwardson vs. Morton* in which the Atlantic-Richfield Company has been held liable to trespass damages to our people during this time. The courts actually held that the Prudhoe Bay oil field belonged to the Inupiat people of the Arctic Slope until our title was extinguished by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971. ARCO is appealing this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, and our trespass case is being defended now by the U.S. Department of Justice. Based upon our legal doctrine, it is clear that oil operators now on our land in Canada are also trespassing, and it is my hope that Canadian courts will someday mete out the same kind of justice for Canadian Inupiat as U.S. courts have provided to us.

The Prudhoe Bay oil discoveries created very little interest in the Native Land Claims Movement until the Federal land freeze was imposed, whereupon oil industrial interest in settling our land claims was ignited and flamed to a white hot heat. Our land claims movement had tied up valuable land, our land, making it unavailable for development. This was made very clear when the State of Alaska conducted its second Prudhoe Bay lease sale in 1969 that realized \$900 million for the State treasury. That was our land the State leased for nearly \$1 billion. Those who can understand that the fabulous Prudhoe Bay oil field was taken from us without any compensation can begin to understand the justice of our demands today. The Arctic is owned by us, the Inupiat. It is our land. We don't mind sharing it with others. But we want to negotiate terms.

The Inupiat of the Arctic Slope and Northwest Alaska provided much of the leadership of the Alaska Native Land Claims Movement in the 1960's that led to

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the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. I got actively involved in the Movement in 1965, and served as the first Executive Director of the Arctic Slope Native Association. Later, I served as Executive Director of the Alaska Federation of Natives. I was in good position to view the land claims movement from the inside. We sought an equitable solution to our land claims. We never did talk about settling on the basis of true market value, and we understood that most Americans did not understand or agree with our aboriginal land rights, and that we were dealing with honest differences of opinion. I know that these differences exist here in Canada, also. During our struggle for settlement, we were offered everything from outer continental shelf lands to large amounts of cash, but largely because of the insistence of the Arctic Slope Native Association, we held out for land title - as well as cash. As you know, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act provided for 40 million acres in fee simple, and \$1 billion in cash, plus interest, over 20 years. My regional corporation will receive roughly 1/12 of that.

But the Land Claims Movement involved more than a complex real estate transaction. While we worked toward a settlement, we also worked for local government. At the same time that our Arctic Slope Native Association filed our land claims, we began organizing our regional, home-rule municipal government under the terms of our State constitution, and the Alaska State municipal code, which I had a hand in drafting when I served in our State Senate. So we were familiar with how to organize local regional government in rural Alaska. Beginning in 1965, our work for local government resulted in the creation of the North Slope Borough in 1972.

Our land claims movement was well underway when Governor Walter Hickel conducted the famous \$900 million Prudhoe Bay lease sale in 1969. Outgoing Governor Bill Egan, who had led the Alaska Statehood movement, and had presided over Alaska's Constitutional Convention, had resisted leasing Alaska's remaining Prudhoe Bay parcels because he knew that the Prudhoe Bay reserves would be worth a great deal more, and would mount in value very rapidly. He felt that Alaska should wait for a better oil market before leasing its only proven oil field to the oil industry. He resisted heavy pressure from the oil industry, and his resistance probably contributed to his defeat for reelection. Alaska's press is dominated by the Anchorage Times, a paper owned by a family that did very well in the Kenai oil boom, and which is devoted to maintaining a pro-oil climate of opinion in Anchorage, where half of Alaska's

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population resides.

Before turning his office over to Walter Hickel, Governor Egan urged Hickel to delay leasing Prudhoe Bay lands until they mounted in value, but Hickel rushed to lease these lands. He wanted to open up rural Alaska for all kinds of resource development, and he saw the Prudhoe Bay sale as a way to greater economic development and State resource income over the long pull, benefits that he thought outweighed those gained by waiting for an improved market for gas and crude. The \$900 million received from the 1969 Prudhoe Bay lease sale was a pleasant surprise. Hickel's land officials had expected less - more on the order of \$400 million.

Today, the Prudhoe Bay oil field is a remarkable Arctic sight to behold. Nearly \$3 billion have been invested there to tap its proven 7.6 billion barrels of oil, and 26 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. The assessed valuation of taxable property at Prudhoe Bay is \$2.20 billion, from which the State of Alaska raises over \$200 million annually in property taxes, and from which our North Slope Borough realized \$13.5 million this year in tax revenue. About 200 miles of the trans-Alaska pipeline lie within the North Slope Borough. We have no villages near the oil field, or the pipeline, although Anaktuvuk Pass is some 50 miles west of the pipeline, and for the people of Anaktuvuk Pass, the pipeline and its camps has meant no benefits at all. The Alyeska Pipeline Service Corporation could have included Anaktuvuk Pass in its sophisticated communications system, bringing telephone service to this remote village, but it failed to do so. In fact, the caribou herd stopped coming up Anaktuvuk Pass, and our villagers there have had to do without caribou, an ancient staple in their diet. The caribou now use the pipeline corridor to migrate.

Prudhoe Bay is an industrial community of transient workers. With the exception of one or two families of State airport employees at Deadhorse, there are no families there. About 2500 working men and women live at Prudhoe Bay, and another 2500 work in the construction camps along the pipeline within our Borough. Presently, we have a village resident population of about 4,000. For tax purposes, our combined village/industry population now is about 9,000. Prudhoe Bay is served by two jet-size airports. British Petroleum is assembling one of the largest oil field electrical generation systems in the world, capable of lighting every village in the entire Arctic between Siberia and Greenland if there was the means of distributing power across the Arctic coast. We dream of an international Arctic power grid someday resulting from Arctic resource development, and making it safer.

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The North Slope Borough has complete utility authority, and in cooperation with the Northwest Alaska Native Association's NANA Regional Corporation in Kotzebue, whose NANA Environmental Systems acts as our Prudhoe Bay utility operator under Borough franchise, we are developing oil field utility systems, beginning with water, sewer and solid waste systems. I point this out as an example of inter-regional Inupiat economic cooperation to capitalize on the economic opportunities provided by Arctic oil and gas development. I would like to see this inter-regional cooperation grow to spill over our national boundaries as a natural consequence of Arctic resource development.

In this present case, cooperation was possible because of the powers of home-rule borough government in Alaska. Control of local government is an important economic tool with which to protect our interests as Arctic resource development grows and flourishes. The development of local government for the Arctic Slope Inupiat was an important product of the Land Claims Movement, and today the North Slope Borough, with its area of jurisdiction of 88,000 square miles, is geographically the largest single municipality in the world. Our area is roughly the same size and shape of the states of California, Oregon, and Washington. We have the longest municipal coast line in the world, and the North Slope Borough is one of the major Arctic coastal governments. Our Borough lies on two seas: the Beaufort, which we share with Canada, and the Chukchi, which we share with the Soviet Union.

We Inupiat have always been a very democratic people, with strong traditions of local government. This is because we have always been a widely-scattered people who have had to work closely together in harmony with ourselves and with nature in order to survive. "Government", as such, was introduced when the whaling fleet came to the Beaufort Sea; when the trappers came to the Canadian Arctic, and when the Danes came to Greenland. Behind them came the Christian missionaries, and behind them came those who "governed" us. In Barrow, we were governed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. When I was a boy in Barrow, we were governed by teachers, preachers and traders. I recall being drafted into the Army in 1943 when my wife, Rebecca, was eight months pregnant with our first child. I didn't meet my first son until I returned from the Army after the war. It was an all white draft board that drafted me when other single boys were available. Government was often very painful. We were no longer governing ourselves. Had we governed ourselves, I know my people would have let me stay in Barrow at least until I could see my wife through her first pregnancy. It was the little things like this that built

up our great resolve to govern ourselves once again.

Village government in the Territorial days of Alaska provided just enough taste of democracy to cause us a great thirst for more, and I expect that the same is true for the villagers of the Northwest Territories and Greenland. I can recall that I specialized in local government legislation when I served in the Territorial House and the State Senate. I know and understand how important restoration of local government is to the overall Land Claims Movement. For it is a restoration, that which is happening in the Arctic, a restoration of democratic self-determination to all Inupiat. Local government is not a privilege to be conferred upon us when we are ready for it. I am told that it is still fashionable in the Canadian Arctic to insist that our people are not ready for local government. That is not true. If we do not govern ourselves, if we do not enjoy local government today in Siberia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland, it is because local government was taken away, however gently, and it has not been restored to us.

The North Slope Borough is an example of partial restoration of local government to the circumpolar Inupiat community. As local government goes in the United States, our Borough is probably statutorily the most powerful local home-rule government in America. The development of the North Slope Borough was a direct consequence of the development of Prudhoe Bay, which produces over 93% of our Borough revenue. Our total annual Borough budget is \$27 million, half of which comes from our own Prudhoe Bay tax levies, and the other half of which comes from various State revenue sharing programs. Of course, most of this State support comes from Prudhoe Bay, also. We receive very little Federal funds, and we are seeking greater Federal participation in our budget as a consequence of the accelerated development of NPR-4.

To bring all this into perspective, we Inupiat of the Arctic Slope are about 4,000 in number, living in seven small villages, with about 60% of our resident population living in Barrow. These 4,000 are served by a regional municipal government with an annual operating budget of \$27 million; with an "A" rating on the New York municipal bond market; and which is administering a six-year, \$140 million capital improvement program that is being funded from municipal bond sales. This all has been an important impact of Arctic oil and gas development.

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

We have found that local government for our people is not an inevitable result of Arctic oil and gas development, however. Our people in Canada and Greenland and elsewhere in Alaska will have to struggle hard against great resistance to govern themselves. Local government is resisted at every turn by the oil industry in the name of tax avoidance. Oil corporations are not people, even though politicians and bankers often behave as if they were people and had the human rights of people. A corporation has no ideological commitment to the development of democratic self-determination. The oil corporations operating in the Arctic have no commitment to the development of local government in the Arctic. On the contrary, oil corporations are committed to tax avoidance, and one way to avoid taxes is to oppose the organization of local government. That has been our experience.

Because of the shabby way that Alaskans were treated during our territorial days by the Federal government, local government organization was specifically provided for in our State constitution, and is spelled out in great and easy to understand detail in our State municipal code. Any group of citizens in rural Alaska can petition for one of several classes of local government, depending upon the degree of local responsible desired. Alaska has a Local Boundary Commission to oversee the organization of local government, and the decisions and rulings of this Commission are final unless modified or over-turned by the courts. The rules to follow in borough organization are fairly simple. We followed them, and filed a petition for a first-class borough for our entire Arctic Slope regional community, which included Prudhoe Bay. Oil corporation lawyers appeared before the Local Boundary Commission to oppose our petition, saying that it was improper for our small, widely-scattered population to organize such a large area into a single municipal government capable of imposing property taxes upon Prudhoe Bay industrial property, especially in light of the fact that none of our community lived within 150 miles of the Prudhoe Bay oil field. They said that our petition was not fair to the oil industry.

When our Local Boundary Commission considered our petition, I was employed as a special assistant to Governor Egan, who had regained the governorship in the elections of 1970. I was able to watch out after our borough petition, and saw it through all the steps through which it had to pass. When the Local Boundary Commission finally approved our petition in 1972, I resigned from the Governor's staff to run for Mayor of the new North Slope Borough.

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER COMMISSION

I ran for an office that I wasn't sure would actually exist. For some oil corporations went to court to challenge the constitutionality of our Local Boundary Commission's approval of our petition. Under our law, upon the Local Boundary Commission's approval of our petition to organize borough government, the State was required to hold elections to submit borough organization to referendum for all registered voters within our proposed borough area, and to elect borough officials. The oil corporations tried to get the courts to enjoin the State from holding this election, but failed. When our Superior Court held for the Borough's constitutionality, the decision was appealed by the oil corporations to our State Supreme Court. When our State Supreme Court upheld our Borough's constitutionality, we thought that we had won. But not so, because the oil corporations carried the battle against local government in the Arctic into the political arena of the State Legislature.

This phase of the battle, I think, is worth relating in some detail because it illustrates just what might reasonably happen to our people in the Northwest Territories as they become involved in the politics of oil in the Arctic.

It is clear now that the first symbol of circumpolar oil politics that have enbroiled our people was the supertanker S.S. Manhattan. The voyage of this ship led to Canada's rapid enactment of the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, and it confirmed our worse suspicions about the real ability of the oil industry to extract oil and gas from our Arctic homeland safely and responsibly. And I was pleased that this voyage drew world attention to the environment of the Arctic ocean and the Beaufort Sea. Until the voyage of the Manhattan, I had heard a lot of loose talk among oil industry people about what could and could not happen in the Beaufort Sea. The voyage of the Manhattan made clear the necessity of the trans-Alaska oil pipeline. It signalled the world that the price of oil was going up.

The pipeline would have to cross State-owned land, putting the State in a good position to derive maximum benefits for our citizens from Prudhoe Bay oil production. In 1972, the State legislature enacted a package of oil and gas revenue and regulation legislation designed to maximize State revenue, and reinforce the State's role in environmental protection and insuring maximum employment of resident Alaskans on pipeline construction.

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This legislative effort caught the oil industry unprepared, so the industry threatened not to build the pipeline unless the 1972 oil package was repealed or heavily modified. These threats were taken seriously. The oil industry's pipeline plans were under attack in court and Congress by environmentalists. Hundreds of millions of dollars had been invested by pipeline construction contractors and vendors in the construction of a pipeline that was being delayed too long. Bankers were getting nervous. There was a lot of money on the line, and a good many of Alaska's leading business men were getting hurt. The 1973 oil shortage was in full swing around the United States. This all contributed to a political climate in Alaska in which Governor Egan, who had kept the Legislature in session in 1972 until they had enacted his oil package, had to negotiate with the oil industry. The result of these negotiations was the 1973 special session of the Legislature that was called to enact new oil tax and regulatory legislation that repealed or modified much of the 1972 oil package, and destroyed the North Slope Borough's revenue authority.

We responded to this move by engaging the best legislative consultant and lobbyist in Alaska. He had an offer from one of the oil corporations, but he elected to represent the Borough instead - for ideological reasons. We were able to reach a compromise that enabled the Borough to retain its revenue authority, but we were limited in our ability to tax oil property to \$1,000 per capita. The State levied a 20 mill property tax on all oil production property in the State, and taxes paid to the North Slope Borough up to our \$1,000 per capita limitation would be credited to the new State ad valorem oil tax. Our previous authority to tax oil in the ground - the proven oil reserves - was nullified.

I am told that Governor Egan's Attorney General was badly seduced by oil company lawyers as they negotiated the demise of the 1972 oil tax package, and that most of the legislation introduced in the special session of 1973, including that which nullified our revenue authority, was in fact written by oil corporation lawyers. The oil corporations play rough politics. They don't much care about the welfare of local government, and are willing even to go to the highest authority to undermine local government in the Arctic.

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

Soon after the 1973 special session of our State Legislature, we got together with the oil corporation lawyers and lobbyists and agreed to the terms of a truce. We settled a \$15 million tax dispute for \$5 million; agreed to suspend our sales and use tax for a period of time; and the oil corporations agreed not to oppose our Capital Improvement Program and our municipal bond sales. We planned to sell bonds to raise the money we needed to build new homes, utility systems, schools and other community facilities in our villages, and the industrial utility system at Prudhoe Bay.

While all this legal and political combat with the oil industry was going on for nearly two years, we had to implement regional borough government from scratch. While we fought to defend the Borough's continued existence, we had to build a completely new regional governmental administration. We had to develop our tax roles; begin establishing assessed valuation for all property within the Borough. We had to build a regional educational system from the parts left us by the BIA and the Department of Education. We had to build a planning department able to deal with oil and gas development, as well as those things that planning and zoning departments usually do.

Truce with the oil industry meant that we could begin building new village schools; begin electrifying our villages and provide them safe sewer and water systems; build new roads and drainage systems; and build badly-needed new housing. We could begin a \$140 million Borough-wide capital improvements program that would mean full employment in all our villages for the coming decade. We began the CIP in 1974, and construction began in 1975. We have been using the construction management approach, rather than bidding our work out to contractors. This has been our policy to insure maximum local hire on Borough construction projects.

Our Borough's CIP has been plagued by incredible inflation. This inflation, I feel, has been one of the greatest economic impacts of pipeline construction.

When the trans-Alaska oil pipeline was first proposed, it was said that it would cost as much as \$900 million. The oil industry now estimates that the final cost of the line will be \$7.7 billion, and it is admitted that there probably will be upward revisions of this estimate. Anything you have heard about the pipeline construction project is true. There has been incredible waste of manpower and material, and poor quality control had necessitated lots

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

of reworking of the line's construction. All this has created a ruinous inflationary climate in which our own village construction projects have suffered.

I feel that the people of the Canadian Arctic must prepare themselves for undergoing a steep increase in their cost of living as a direct result of oil and gas development. That has been our experience on the Arctic Slope. Recent studies have revealed that it costs three times as much to live in Barrow as it does in Washington, D.C. The pipeline construction has created a highly charged, hot inflationary climate that has made it almost impossible for us to manage our community construction projects effectively. As a result, the economic benefits of oil and gas development to the Arctic community must be gauged accordingly. We know that we are building in an artificially inflated climate, and our capital debt will be with us long after the boom is over, much like a hangover. Wage inflation has been very high, and it remains to be seen whether or not our high wage rates will be supportable after the initial boom of pipeline and oil field construction is over. I am very concerned about the long term economic impact of oil and gas development upon our Arctic community. We are riding the crest of a high economic wave, and I fear about where it will deposit us, and how hard we will land.

As we have seen, Arctic oil and gas development has resulted in such social developments in Alaska as the enactment of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, and the development of strong local government with the creation of the North Slope Borough. These were political initiatives of Alaska's native people. With the development of local government, we Inupiat of the Arctic Slope have found that we must deal in areas in which local government is seldom engaged. Our Borough government, for instance, has had to evolve

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

its own policy toward Arctic oil and gas development that transcends our political borders into a kind of foreign policy. The Beaufort Sea is a symbol of the reasons for this. There is only one Beaufort Sea. It is a single Arctic ecological system shared by the North Slope Borough, and the Northwest Territories. We Inupiat are a single Beaufort Sea community living under two national flags. We must contend with two different political systems, and two sets of rules governing oil and gas development to protect our environmental values within our larger Beaufort coastal community. We Inupiat of the North Slope Borough, downstream in the Beaufort gyre from Canada, have a measure of local control over oil and gas development on our side of the border, but we are unable to influence development in Canada because we have not yet developed local government in the Northwest Territories. For this reason, we have undertaken to create a circumpolar Inupiat assembly with which to work with the multi-national oil industry to develop a single set of rules for the industry to follow for safe and responsible circumpolar Arctic gas and oil development. Working with the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement, and the Greenlanders Association and other Greenlandic community organizations, we have planned the first Inuit Circumpolar Conference which was to have been held in Barrow in November, 1976. However, the great response to this initiative has caused us to decide to let out more line on this conference, and we have re-scheduled our Inuit Circumpolar Conference for the week of June 13, 1977.

One of the reasons for re-scheduling our conference until next June is the strong likelihood of a new political administration in Washington, D.C., one more receptive to the development of badly-needed domestic and foreign Arctic policies aimed at insuring safe and responsible Arctic oil and gas development. Our big concern, of course, is off-shore development and its threat to our food chain.

Last March, I flew with two of my colleagues to attend the annual general assembly of the Inuit Tapirisat. We had arranged for leaders of the Greenlandic homerule movement, Greenland's version of our land claims program, to meet us in Tuktoyaktuk, and we returned to Barrow with the Greenlanders, and with the leaders of the Canadian land claims movement to conduct pre-conference planning for the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. It was during this period of time that

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

we became aware of the plans of the Canadian government to issue a drilling permit to Dome Petroleum for OCS exploration off the Tuttoyuktuk Peninsula.

As you may know, I have taken a public stand in the United States and Canada against the Dome Petroleum project in the Mackenzie Bay. By doing so, I have been accused by some people for sticking my nose in other peoples business. But I don't think so. There is only one Beaufort Sea, and we Inupiat of the North Slope Borough depend upon the Beaufort for our food. Anything that happens to place our Beaufort Sea in danger anywhere is my business. I wouldn't be doing my job as Mayor of the North Slope Borough if I failed to point to the Dome Petroleum Mackenzie Bay OCS drilling project as an example of the oil industry's contravention of our own national, State, and local Borough Arctic environmental safeguards. I felt strongly enough about this to fly to Washington, D.C. last July to visit with officials of the embassies of Canada, Denmark, and the USSR to discuss the international implications of the oil industry's Canadian OCS program. Of those diplomats I talked with, First Secretary Yatsyna and his colleagues at the Soviet Embassy seemed to most understand and share my point of view. They, too, are downstream from Canada. I got the impression that the USSR has a formal set of interlocking domestic and foreign policies respecting the Arctic. Because we share the Chukchi Sea with the Soviet Union, we Inupiat of Alaska are just as properly concerned with Soviet Arctic oil and gas development as we are about Canadian development. The North Slope Borough has 1200 miles of municipal coastline to worry about and protect from harm that could come from unproven and under-developed OCS drilling and extraction technology.

The problem seems to be that there is a serious technology gap between what the oil industry wants to do in the Beaufort Sea, and what the industry can now do safely and responsibly. The Beaufort Sea is not safe for oil industrial experimentation. The Arctic is without much margin for error. If there is to be rapid and orderly development of Arctic shelf oil and gas reserves, the oil industry is going to have to plan and behave better in the Arctic than it has been. For this to happen, there must be better communication between our Inupiat community and responsible executives of the oil and banking industries. For until we Inupiat are satisfied that the oil industry possesses the means to develop Arctic shelf oil and gas reserves safely, responsibly, and economically, we will continue to challenge

MAJOR BEN HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

the plans of the oil industry offshore in the Arctic.

I got involved with the Dome Petroleum project controversy when the people at COPE in Inuvik asked me to intervene last February. They asked me to write to the Canadian Minister for External Affairs to inquire how the Canadian Cabinet's plans to approve the Dome Petroleum project squared with Canada's Arctic Water Pollution Prevention Act, and this legislation's stated purpose of protecting the Arctic for us Inupiat. Our people at COPE told me that we were being ignored in Canada by the oil industry and by Canadian senior civil servants with whom they work to plan Arctic resource development. They said that we were not being adequately involved in Arctic oil and gas development planning, and that it looked to them like the oil industry and the government were going to make some big mistakes, too big for us to tolerate without speaking up with strong warning. Because we have established the North Slope Borough as a kind of Arctic beachhead of Inupiat self-determination, Canada's Inupiat turned to us for help when their own government officials paid no attention. I want you to know about these circumstances because many people have asked me why I got involved. It wasn't a popular thing for me to do. For many weeks, I was the only public official in the United States to publicly speak out against the Dome Petroleum project, and the silence with which my statements were met was very dispiriting. I was feeling lonely, and I began to think that perhaps I had spoken out too hastily, and that I was wrong about the meaning of the Dome Petroleum project.

In June, I attended a Beaufort Sea Conference in Seattle hosted by the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, and the University of Alaska, both involved in environmental studies of the likely impact and problems of American Beaufort Sea OCS operations. Many of the Canadian government scientists involved in Environment Canada's 5-year Beaufort Sea Project attended this conference, and I learned from them that they had recommended against granting government permission for the Dome Petroleum project, and that they were either ignored or over-ruled. And I was also assured by them that I was right about raising public objection to this project. They also confirmed my impression that adequate technology for drilling and extraction has not yet been designed or tested for use in the Beaufort Sea ice environment.

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BECKER INQUIRY

I realize that the Canadian government is under great pressure to cooperate with the oil industry's plans for Arctic oil and gas exploitation. This pressure is being applied in Alaska, also. On our side of the border, there is great pressure on both the Federal and State governments to conduct Beaufort Sea OCS lease sales. Normally, the State owns the first three miles of continental shelf from mean tide. However, the Federal government is claiming in court that the creation of NPR-4 included much of the nearshore Beaufort islands area that is being sought for lease by the oil industry. Because of the State's dependence upon the royalty income from Prudhoe Bay oil - oil that cannot be sold until the pipeline is completed, the likelihood of delays in the pipeline's completion has created a fiscal crisis for the State of Alaska. This year's annual operating budget for the State of Alaska totalled \$700 million. The \$900 million Prudhoe Bay lease sale bonus money is all gone. So, by delaying the pipeline's completion, the oil industry has increased pressure upon the State to conduct a Beaufort Sea lease sale.

As part of the U.S. effort to achieve energy self-sufficiency, the Department of Interior has accelerated the leasing of its outer continental shelf lands, and in spite of the heated opposition of the State's Republican administration, the U.S. Department of Interior conducted its first Alaska OCS lease sale in the North Gulf of Alaska earlier this year. The Department of Interior's Alaska OCS lease sale schedule includes a Beaufort Sea sale for the fall of 1977. Last week, while meeting with top oil corporation executives at Deadhorse, our Secretary of Interior said that he was going to try to speed things up. Governor Hammond has suggested that both the Federal and State Beaufort lease sales be integrated into a single, cooperative program. The first objectives of this joint cooperation would be near-shore exploration and development in ice-fast waters where ice movement is not a danger. The hope is that, over time, the industry could develop the means to operate in deeper water where moving ice is the greatest problem facing the industry.

I support Governor Hammond's attempt to establish a cautious and cooperative approach to American Arctic shelf development, and I expect that the North Slope Borough will be a party to this cooperation. In his letter to Secretary Kleppe, Hammond has pointed out, too, to the need for U.S.-Canadian cooperation in all phases of Arctic shelf exploration and development in the Beaufort Sea. I am

MAYOR HOPKIN'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE DELGER INQUIRY

happy to see our Governor adopt this position as policy. I feel that there must be close cooperation between the industry and government in all Arctic shelf operations, and I feel that this cooperation must be international in scope. We Inupiat feel that safe and responsible Arctic shelf resource development must be governed by a single set of rules established by international agreements. We feel that the special problems of the Arctic necessitate the development of an international set of Arctic policies if we Inupiat are to be able to develop trust and confidence in the oil industry's ability to conduct Arctic shelf operations safely and responsibly. But, you know, I have found out that the United States has no Arctic policy, as such. I wonder if this is true of the Canadian government.

When we considered planning the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, we were encouraged by Alaska's U.S. Senator Mike Gravel, a member of the U.S. delegation to the Law of the Sea Conference. He agreed to the need for strong Arctic regional community organization to help establish and enforce standards of safe Arctic resource development able to protect our land. Through his help, Ambassador John Norton Moore, formerly chief of the U.S. delegation to the Law of the Sea Conference, attended our March, 1967 pre-conference planning session for the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. He described the role of regional community organization in the implementation of the Law of the Sea Treaty when it is finally completed and ratified. It may be that the international Arctic policy agreements we seek can be worked out in the context of these LOS negotiations, and that our circumpolar Inupiat community can be involved in these negotiations, as well as in watching over the implementation of agreements reached. I'm hoping that our Inuit Circumpolar Conference next June will lead to a level of Inupiat community involvement reflective of our responsibilities of stewardship over our land.

There are many opportunities for profitable Canadian-U.S. cooperation. As you know, there is a great debate going on in Alaska about the route of the gas line to take Prudhoe Bay gas to market. Alaska politics favor an all-American route because of its maximum economic benefit to Alaska. However, national politics seem to favor an Alaska-Canadian route, and the feeling is that the Eastern states will join with the mid-West to lead the Federal regulatory agencies and Congress to approve either of the two Al-Can route applications that have been filed. Personally, I have not taken a public stand on the matter, and I won't until I learn more. I feel, however, that the

MAYOR HOBSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

This pipeline route debate has pointed out to us how bound together we are through the mutual problems of Arctic oil and gas production and marketing. When I talk about the development of strong Arctic domestic and foreign policies, I'm hoping that both the United States and Canada can unify behind common policies, even mutual marketing and regulatory agreements, so that we can deal with the oil industry with greater strength with which to protect our land, and enable our people to derive the greatest benefits from the sale of the people's oil and gas. We must work together, or the industry will work us separately.

The gas pipeline debate is one of two debates raging in Alaska. The other is the disposition and continued use of the trans-Alaska oil pipeline construction haul road. Development-oriented Alaskans have put great pressure upon our State government to keep the haul road open as a public highway from Fairbanks to Prudhoe Bay. There are a lot of problems with that, not the least of which is cost. The Borough's policy is that it would be extremely unwise to open the haul road for public use once the oil pipeline is built. That haul road is a 24-hour maintenance operation. It wasn't engineered for use as a public road. Your planners should study the Alaska pipeline haul road issue. We are learning that great political pressures can be brought to keep Arctic pipeline construction roads open for public use, and you should plan accordingly.

New roads into the Arctic tundra are difficult to imagine, but it is all part of the politics of oil in the Arctic. The politics of oil have had a very divisive influence in rural Alaska. When our land claims were settled, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act authorized the organization of 12 regional corporations to manage both the land and the money received from the settlement. Many of these regional corporations have signed exploration and option agreements with oil corporations, and several of these regional corporations have begun to appear to be politically aligned with their oil corporate partners. Suddenly, Native members of the State Legislature, who used to vote as liberal democrats, now vote with conservative urban Republicans on oil and gas legislation, thus alienating the urban liberals whose votes we could count on to pass such legislation in such areas as health, education, and local government. New coalitions are developing. I worry about this. I worry that while

MAYOR HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BURGER INQUIRY

this new oil coalition may work well for the oil industry's tax avoidance, it won't work for the people of our villages. We have had to work many years to build the political friendships in the State Legislature that we enjoy, and I would hate to see these friendships lost because of the oil boom. I worry that as the market value of Alaska's oil rises, the new oil/bush coalition will prevent oil taxes from being raised accordingly, denying all Alaskans their fair share of oil revenue. There will be a tug of war between those of us who want to maximize State oil income for needed investment in our Alaskan cities and villages, and those who want to help the oil industry avoid taxation. I don't want to see this tug of war split Alaska's Native leadership as it appears to be doing. I don't believe that letting oil corporations explore our land for oil obliges us to adopt the politics of the oil corporations.

This tendency to assist the oil corporations avoid taxes may extend even to the point that our regional Native corporations will oppose the development of home-rule government in rural Alaska. Rather than fight for local self-determination for our people, the influence of the oil corporations may lead our regional corporations to fight against it. Even now, in fact, I wonder if we could have organized the North Slope Borough today against the opposition of my own Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, of which I am a vice president. I worry about the direction that the politics of oil is taking among our people in the Arctic.

It is happening all over the State. It is probably happening here in the Northwest territories. The politics of the Arctic are no longer the politics of the people, but they are the politics of oil. While money is flowing freely from the \$7.7 billion oil pipeline construction, Alaska's working men and women are being distracted from the Federal OCS program in Alaska, the details of which would have caused great controversy in earlier days. But now, most people are for anything that will keep the boom going, and the OCS program is viewed in that category. Oil boom economics are addictive. However, there is emerging a definite set of OCS politics out of Alaska's small coastal communities facing the greatest threat, as well as opportunity, from Interior's OCS plans. You should study the case of Yakutat, a Tlingit Indian community on the North Gulf of Alaska; the island borough of Kodiak; and our own Borough, as we provide the leadership in the State's resistance to the worse features of the Federal government's plans for outer continental shelf development. The OCS program of the oil industry is destined to become one of America's most persistent political problems.

LAYON HOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE REINGER INQUIRY

The OCS program threatens great harmful impact to Alaska's coastal people, who are predominantly Native people. "Impact" is a much heard word in Alaska. Others here from Alaska and the North Slope Borough will talk about impacts experienced and anticipated. It is all very grim. I'm reminded of James Arvaluk's observation in Barrow last March at our pre-conference. He said that while our first Inuit Circumpolar Conference will deal with Arctic oil development, the subject should be treated as a problem rather than as an opportunity for our people. I agree.

However, there is one positive impact that we Inupiat should enjoy from Arctic oil and gas development: access to natural gas to heat and power our villages. After fighting for 12 years, we were able to connect to gas from the South Barrow gas field in 1963. In working with Congress last year we were able to write language into HR-49, legislation that demilitarized HPR-4, that obligated the Department of Interior to guarantee us continued access to Barrow to our natural gas, and at prices that reflect just the cost of lifting the gas. This will work out to about \$.33 per thousand cubic feet, probably the lowest consumer price for gas in the United States. I feel that, wherever feasible, our Arctic communities should be connected to gas as part of the cost of oil and gas development throughout the entire Arctic. Our Arctic communities should not have to pay market price for gas, but it should be available to our villages at rates that will amortize the cost of village distribution systems, and the cost of gas utility operation and maintenance. The cost of piping gas to our villages located reasonably near gas fields and gas pipelines should be born by the operators as a part of their Arctic investment and overhead. I have taken the public position in Alaska that this benefit should accrue to all Alaskans living in communities near gas operations, including Fairbanks and other larger, non-Native communities.

The problem that I see preventing this benefit being realized may lie with the apparent intention of the natural gas industry to utilize cost averaging in establishing rates; to distribute the cost of natural gas transportation evenly to all communities served by gas pipelines. Thus, our Arctic communities would therefore be required to pay the same rates as communities of our mid-western provinces and states. From our point of view in the Arctic, that would not be fair at all. We Inupiat regard the gas as our gas, taken from our land.

MAYOR LOPSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

Access to our natural gas at cost of lifting and distribution is our right that precedes from our aboriginal land rights. If cost averaging is to be utilized, I hope that we can convince our U.S. and Canadian regulatory agencies to exempt our Arctic communities from participation in this averaging. Such exemption, such special treatment for our communities, would be an example of an Arctic policy that I would like to see the United States and Canada adopt jointly: An Arctic community energy policy.

I feel diffident about commenting upon our Inupiat land claims movement here in Canada. While I am a member of our common, circumpolar Inupiat community, and all the Arctic is my land, I am not a citizen of Canada and I feel that I should not comment upon the work of our people here to secure a land claims settlement without their authorization. But I would like to say that I don't feel that there should be any further oil and gas development in the Northwest Territories until a just and equitable settlement of the Inupiat Northwest Territorial land claims has been secured. It wasn't until the powerful oil lobby in Washington, D.C., got behind our land claims movement that we were able to secure settlement legislation. I feel that settlement of the Canadian Native land claims is part and parcel of Arctic oil and gas development in Canada, and the oil industry should join Canada's Native people to secure a fair settlement as soon as possible. I feel the same way about Greenland and the OCS program underway in the Davis Strait. The oil industry should get behind the Greenlandic Home Rule Movement. Our people in Greenland are not being consulted in any meaningful way as their resources are being sold out from under them. Home Rule is the key to an equitable land claims settlement anywhere in the Arctic. It is the heart of the land claims movement.

The Native land claims movement is an international movement toward justice for all of the world's original people, people who owned and used the land that European refugees took, and did not pay for. This movement is alive wherever Native people still survive. Last fall, I sent a representative to the first World Indigenous Peoples Conference at Port Alberni, B.C., and it was made clear that world resource development is fueling the same kind of land claims settlement negotiations as are underway in Canada. I feel that contemporary standards of justice mandate that Canada deals forthrightly with our Inupiat land claims as the first order of business in the development of Canadian Arctic oil and gas development.

Thank you very much for this opportunity to put my feelings and experience

MAYOR HOBSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE BERGER INQUIRY

and perceptions on record here in the Canadian Arctic. I'm sorry that my illness prevented me from testifying in person. I would like to take this opportunity, however, to formally invite you, Justice Berger, to attend the first Inuit Circumpolar Conference to be held in Barrow, Alaska, beginning June 13th, 1976. Perhaps you could arrange to convene your Inquiry there during one of the days of that week. The North Slope Borough would be pleased to cooperate with this in any way. In any event, you will be our honored guest because we respect the work you are doing here. We will ask you to comment upon your experiences in your assignment of establishing the criteria for justice to Canada's Arctic people in the face of the world's energy crisis.

Leo Kylo

Outline of Evidence
presented on behalf of COPE

The Berger Inquiry - July, 1976

Subject to Revision

Leo Kyllö

1. The role of Recreation in periods of Social and Economic change.
 - A. The factor of culture in recreation programs and facilities
 - B. Present level of recreational services in the NWT and their domination by white Northerners.
2. Relevant examples from Alberta
 - A. The nature of resource towns and the transients they attract.
 - B. The social problems of adjustment in resource towns:
Ft. MacMurray, Cash Creek, Grand Cash, etc.
3. The need for local direction and control: Northern Games and the TEST ski program.



1

RECEIVED 3/8/77

SUBMISSION OF

Grace E. Lincoln
Project Director,
Alaska Native Special Alcoholism Program

TO THE BERGER INQUIRY

Presented on behalf of COPE

September, 1976
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

Alcoholism is a problem of immense proportions for the Alaska Native population. Its rank as a killer has risen from tenth in 1960 to fourth in 1970 and is still increasing. Figures from the Office of Systems Development, Alaska Area Native Health Service state that the 1960 death rate attributed to alcoholism (excluding cirrhosis deaths) was 4.6 per 100,000 population and that the rate in 1970 had risen to 41.1 per 100,000. The measurement in 1973 was 57.8 deaths per 100,000. The related problem of alcohol abuse has been observed to overwhelm and incapacitate entire village populations on at least two occasions in the past year.

To understand the impact of alcoholism, as I view it, one must understand the Alaska Native experience. Although the cultures and histories of each of the distinct Alaska Native groups differ, their experience with the intrusions and ultimate dominance of non-natives and the breaking down of the old ways is the same. Whole nations of people who had created a culture that survived the harshness of the northern Alaskan climate built upon the natural riches of the land and sea in the southeast had their lives disturbed until self-sufficiency and expression began to give way to dependence on the artificial survival of welfare and the escape of alcohol use. Each of the cultures was self-sustaining before the incursion of the non-native cash economy. The coming of the cash economy made it seem profitable to native peoples to hunt or make the things non-natives want and use the cash to buy things that they made or caught before. When the demands of non-native buyers changed, the native peoples were thrown back on skills they had largely lost, hemmed in by pressures

and laws they had not created, and caught in a conflict between the use of alcohol that had been an adjunct of the cash economy and culture, and the moralistic sobriety of non-native religion.

The most significant force for change in Alaska this year is the Pipeline. The impact upon the Native villages as to alcoholism is as yet unmeasured officially; however, observations by myself, the RTA's, and my colleagues in social welfare, indicate that serious problems loom on the horizon. The Pipeline offers large wages for comparatively short stints of work, an ideal situation for the rural Alaskan who hunts and fishes on a seasonal basis and who otherwise has little or no opportunity for earning money. While this influx of large quantities of money into a rural Native family unit may be beneficial, it has proved otherwise in an alarming number of cases.

I have seen a man previously earning \$4,000 a year who now earns that amount in a month fall prey to robbery or the temptation to squander the money for a drunken spree in Anchorage. So many families not only never see the money, but also lose their chief provider as well.

These negative effects are most noticeable in those areas where the Pipeline is being constructed. However, since it draws manpower from all over Alaska, all regions are affected. The Pipeline activity is only the first of oil development in the state. The Outer Continental Shelf Development is already in motion and will directly affect nearly all of Alaska's coastal villages by December, 1978. Oil development will then directly affect all 12 of the regional health corporations.

Besides the intrusion of itinerant workers into Native areas with the introduction of substance abuse, the oil development activity may itself

strike at the very heart of the rural Alaskan's ability to subsist off the land. Foremost in the most of my people, the Eskimos, and other Native people of Alaska, are the consequences of oil spills and other ecological imbalances which may be caused by the oil development and procurement. Typical of Native apprehension and providing some insight into the precarious ecological balance of the Alaskan environment is this statement by Nick O. Nick from the Kuskokwim area:

"Our land is not the same as the land in the Lower 48. I've seen the outside, it's nice and sturdy land. However, here in the Kuskokwim area, here in the lower area, not the upper area, it's different, it's bad. But it's good with its fish, our subsistence. This area is different. The land in this area is not sturdy, it's soft and part of it is like quicksand. It's like that.

The egg of a fish, a white fish, is small. It's very hard to see. When it hatches, it is all eyes with a body. It's very hard to be seen. When they hatch, like fog, they travel in the river. When I was a boy I used to see the small fish that hatched traveling like a fog. The small fish, life is very small. When something happens, or if the current stops, it will die. And if a small amount of gas is spilled the tiny fish will die. This will happen if the gas accidentally leaks."

This statement was spoken in Eskimo, as part of the testimonies spoken by Western Alaskans to the Bureau of Land Management, January 30 -31, 1975, Bethel, Alaska.

Native Alaskans look with trepidation at the prospect of a future affected by oil development. As an employee from Mauneluk Association, the region of my birth, said recently, "The Pipeline brough Alaska to its knees. OCS will kill it dead."

While the long-range effect of the oil development activity on the life of the Alaskan Native is not known at this time, it does pose a threat to his already disrupted culture. I have sadly observed the disruption of

cultural identity and the lessening or cessation of traditional activities in the villages lead directly to alcoholism problems. In Time, a special article on alcoholism was published April 22, 1974. Dr. Charles Hudson, chief of psychiatric services at the U.S. Public Health Service's Alaska Native Medical Center is quoted as saying:

"The original social structure in many places in rural Alaska has been blown apart, much as it has been in central cities, the ghettos and Appalachia. The things that were important to people have been taken away, and when there's nothing to do, they'll take their last buck to get a bottle and stay drunk all the time."

Reports have been gathered which link alcoholism to crime. Governor Hammond recently stated in the Anchorage Times (June 5, 1976) that he was told that "80 per cent of Alaskan crime is alcohol-related. . ." His figures were taken from a study by Dr. Judy Hill on, "Alcohol & The Alaskan Offender" (August, 1975). Her report breaks down this 80% according to Caucasian and Native:

Table 1

Use of Alcohol at Time of Offense

	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>Native</u>	<u>Total</u>
Drinking	64%	92%	80%
Not Drinking	36%	8%	20%

It is clearly evident that crime under the influence of alcohol is more prevalent among the Native than the Caucasian population. One would be tempted to say that if the alcohol problem were alleviated, the crime among Natives would go down drastically. My own observations have confirmed this idea.

I have witnessed ordinarily peaceful and gentle and non-aggressive rural Alaskan Natives surge into a raging passion capable of great property destruction, brutality, and even murder under the influence of alcohol. Upon returning to a sober state, all their former qualities are regained. The evidence of their behavioral lapse remain, many times without the perpetrator's remembrance of the deed. This is highly suggestive that a Native who no longer drinks, though having committed a crime under the influence of alcohol, can be considered rehabilitated.

Dr. Hill's data would seem to bear this out at least in the area of violent crime.

Table 2

Relationship of Alcohol Use & Violence

	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>Native</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Violence, Alcohol	44%	46%	44%	44%
Violence, No Alcohol	5%	-0-	-0-	3%
Alcohol, No Violence	39%	43%	39%	40%
No Alcohol, No Violence	9%	4%	11%	8%
Unknown	3%	7%	6%	5%

While violent crimes by all persons are almost always accompanied by alcohol, it is significant that among Natives and Blacks, 100% of violent crimes took place when the offender had been drinking.

A poll taken at the Eagle River Prison from offenders drawing a 6-months or longer sentence again supports the idea that Native crime problems are more alcohol-related than the non-Native situation. The question was asked, "Have you ever had a serious drinking problem?" Seventy-five percent of the Natives answered 'yes' as opposed to 47% of the Caucasian and 17% of the Black inmates.

Alcoholism is a major problem that has affected all aspects of rural Alaskan life. I believe that using existing program models to meet the pressing rural alcoholism needs are complicated by the fact that urbanized approaches and urbanized conceptions of alcoholism are not necessarily applicable to the rural Alaskan village. The most successful Alcoholism Program in rural Alaska is the Napaskiak Alcoholism Council. Since their operation went into effect (unfunded) on January, 1975, Napaskiak villagers have disappeared from the rolls of both the Bethel and the Anchorage Sleep-Off Centers. There were frequent admissions before the program got started.

It is my experience that village designed, village administered and village staffed programs have the greatest chance of success. The problem facing our program is to draw out the village resources in promoting, if not actually initiating, programs appropriate to reinforce our cultural strengths which, to me, is the strongest factor available to combat alcoholism in the villages.

After much thought and consideration regarding the state of being of my people, the Eskimos of Alaska above the Arctic Circle, I deem it necessary to begin the best type of humanitarian aiming and striving to make the world around us a better place in which to live. I believe we should modernize and up-date the old-fashioned or inefficient methods which have been instituted and accepted by our forefathers as the only way possible for survival in this great land. The literal interpretation of Alaska which is in actuality Al-ye-esk-a, modernized into Alaska, The Great Land.

Our forefathers should be commended for having endured all of the hardships imposed upon them because of the very location of their habitat. At that time survival of the fittest was the motto. Had it not been for their ingenuity, integrity, and ability combined with kind gentleness of character and the very drive for survival we would not be here today. To those who have gone or preceded us into the unknown we owe a great deal. Our duty is clear. We should strive to become as strong, honest and as capable as they were. We should aim upon maintaining our legacy and in so doing leave the very same essence of gracious living, as they knew it, to our children.

In the days of our forefathers we had very little thievery, juvenile delinquency or bigotry in our midst. Today the picture is tragically different. Honesty, integrity, and the strong desire for survival as well as all of the other desirable Eskimo characteristics which were so proudly prevalent are no longer in evidence. I believe this is not the only area of the world so corrupted. There are many other lands facing the very same

problems we face today. I believe our communities have been contaminated by the introduction of foreign influences, well-meaning missionaries, merchants, and the exploiters. This is so-called progress.

I feel we should attempt to instill the same type of courage and pride which was prevalent in the Eskimos for a number of centuries. It was this courage and pride and stamina which prevailed in our forefathers and helped them to endure the many hardships in an extremely cruel land known for its wilderness and extremely cold nature.

The honor code was held sacred to the Eskimos. In the Eskimo family the code of honor was taught and upheld very rigidly. One was taught at an early age, the age of awareness, when one was Kogrimak. If the code was violated, it was dealt with by the council members. For example, if one was known to have stolen food or articles the right hand was chopped off and seared. These people were ostracized and were outcasts of the community. The family was stigmatized and were banned to live among the other people of Kotzebue (Kik-ig tagrook - island). They moved to settle in other communities or set up one of their own. This is how we have many outlying settlements surrounding us. It was considered a privilege to be allowed to live in Kik ig tagrook. No one had to lock doors or caches. Today the story is entirely different. One must batten down the hatches and make sure all windows are sealed. Alas, one must even be wary of visitors.

In Kotzebue the council members came from leading families which had the honor bestowed upon them due to their fineness of character. This practice was an old one. The honor of becoming a leader was passed from father to son. There was always a leader of the clan. This honor bestowed upon the leader included the relating of the legends of old. History and

sagas were passed from one generation to the next by word of mouth.

This was done with great pride and also with hope that the younger generation would reap from the elders courage and wisdom. The only form of education was done in the family. The subject being the great art of living in a land where survival of the fittest was the motto. The fathers took their sons and taught them the art of making the very implements used for hunting and fishing. The bows and arrows, spears, harpoons all had to be made of a special material, usually jade and hardwood and flint, which could endure impacts. The art of making nets for fishing also used in rabbit hunting. Guns were non-existent. One had to kill an animal in such a manner so as not to damage the pelt. The clever art of killing ermine was done with great patience and a thong. The thong was usually oogrook - narrow but tough. It was made into a noose and held in readiness at the ermine's place of abode, at the entrance, and when he ventured out to forage for the food, his head was caught in the noose and the ermine was choked to death. With this method the pelt was perfect without any holes in it and was highly prized. Ermine was usually given as presents to the leader to express good wishes and denote great honor by the people of the community.

The women of the family were actually the backbone of a family. She was the one who took care of all of the husband's catch. Everything was utilized of the seal. The hides made the mukluk bottoms which the women tanned and crimped with their teeth to shape the mukluk bottom. The bowel of the seal was cleaned and dried. When sewn together with sinew one could make waterproof clothing which were light but durable. Windows were made from the seal bladders. The meat was dried and stored in seal oil for winter use. Women did the berry picking, the gathering of edible green vegetables -

wild onions, celery, cauliflowers, leaves - new and young - chard, sour dock and edible roots called mussoo. Baskets were made of birch bark. Cooking was done by heating stones large enough to cover a dugout place in the earth lined with flat rocks and the meat was placed in this dugout with water and then the heated stone was placed firmly on top to stop the escape of steam. This was the art of cooking meats and vegetables.

Cleanliness was a must. Moss was used after it was dried to place in a baby's diaper which was made of fur. The moss was changed whenever necessary. These people of old had steam baths - communal - for bathing purposes. Men and women - very sophisticated in their attitude to life without shame, participated in this practice. After a steam bath one went to a communal bath and rinsed in clean, tepid water.

One took pride in being well-clothed. Designs were often derived from legends to depict a story or shaped as the planets - the sun, moon, stars, etc. Women took great pride in being able to clothe the family properly and prettily - in precious furs.

Children were cherished. No child was ever spanked. Spoken to, perhaps, but never struck. Verbal scoldings were enough to keep children in tow. They were well fed and clothed.

Today one must resort to locking doors, guarding oil tanks as there are those of us who are base enough to consider it honorable to obtain food and articles by thievery. This is indeed a very ugly picture, but so very true. This is inexcusable and speaks poorly for the people of our community. Is there no pride or even shame left?

It is the people of our community as well as the outlying villages for which I worry. I am saddened to learn that a great majority of our

people are becoming economic cripples. So many are receiving welfare. This, I feel, is an insult to their inherent pride. I feel that this has inadvertently sapped the strength as well as the pride from the people in this depressed area. I believe Uncle Sam has become a symbol of the great white protector and although they, the U.S. Government, are well-meaning and intend to help, it is at the same time crippling the incentive to strive for a better standard of living in the Eskimos themselves.

Eskimos, as a rule, have been known to be strugglers, a courageous and a proud people, and self-sufficient.

I believe our beautiful hospital here in Kotzebue is just so much frosting on the cake and until the major problems which face us today, such as proper housing, running water and plumbing are dealt with, then we can expect to keep our hospital full of poorly kept children subjected to poor housing, water contamination and no sewage.

I feel we are on the threshold of a new era. I am hoping that we may soon realize a certain sense of security and that we shall be able to strive in our goals of faith, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which is our heritage.

Education is on the upswing. We are soon to have a high school. Perhaps in a few years we can rebuild a community of which we can be proud.

I believe we should all strive to work out some place to alleviate the varied problems of our society. Groups of people are capable of facing and correcting problems together if they so desire.

I believe bigotry and hypocrisy have no place in a community such as ours. After all, there is only one super being to whom we all pray and revere. No matter the denomination of church to which you aspire.

We will aim high and be happy to improve the standard of living as it is now here in Kotzebue. I believe the young people will be instrumental in obtaining many of these goals. You young people have had the advantages of an education in the ways of American life. You can be our guides and leaders of this community and do so with pride.

There has been much exploitation of our people, but also there is the good - the schools and our pride of the community - the hospital. Too fast we are losing our own identities and Eskimo characteristics. Chiefly, honesty and humility, which are our proud heritage. We have much to treasure and preserve and of these qualities I believe honor and courage to be of greatest importance.

Written as an address to the younger generation in 1964 by Grace E. Lincoln.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Grace E. Lincoln - Project Director

166-28-6640

Born February 12, 1931 in Kotzebue, Alaska (Eskimo)

Enrolled In NANA Region

Education: Pre-nursing Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1948
Registered Nurse - Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa. 1951
Various Workshops on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse
Anchorage, 1973; UCLA, Santa Cruz, 1973
Anchorage, 1974; UCLA, Santa Cruz, 1975

Major Professional Interest: Alcoholism Field

Has worked for: Penn. Hospital 1951-52 - Supervisory Nurse
Private Duty, St. John Hospital, Fairbanks 1953-54
O.R. Supervisory R.N. Long Beach Community Hospital,
Long Beach, California 1954-62
Private Duty, Long Beach, California 1962-64
Clinical Nurse USPHS - ANS Hospital, Kotzebue, Alaska 1964-65
Project Director, Operation Grassroots CAACAA, Anchorage 1966-67
Private Duty, Kotzebue and Nome, 1968-71
Project Director, Kotzebue Alcoholism Program 1972-73
Nurse Leader - Alaska International Academy 1973-74
Media Specialist, Alaska Native Commission on Alcoholism
and Drug Abuse 1974
Media Director, ANCADA 1975
Project Director, Alaska Native Special Alcoholism Program 1975-1976

Professional Societies:

National Council on Alcoholism - Alaska Region
Urban Rural Alcoholism Counsellors, Alaska
Kotzebue Area Health Corporation, Consultant
Alaska Alcohol and Treatment Center, Board
Region X Indian Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission,
ANCADA Representative
National Indian Board and Alcoholism and Drug Abuse, Board
Alternate
Former Member ANCADA Board
Human Services Committee, Board

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